

# SPEECH

1896.

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G. W. W. DAWSON, M.P.

ON

## THE BUDGET

OTTAWA, THURSDAY, 25TH FEBRUARY, 1896

Mr. DAWSON. Mr. Speaker, I regret very much that I cannot congratulate the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat (Mr. Smith, Ontario) on his references to men on this side of the House. He has rebashed some very old arguments, and repeated some very old assertions in support of the so-called National Policy. The hon. gentleman also has given to the House sheets of skillfully compiled statistics, so skillfully compiled as to give reason to believe that they were made to order and are being supplied freely to all speakers on the other side of the House. The hon. gentleman rang the praises of the Canadian Pacific Railway and predicted bright days for the North-west, and said that we would soon begin to realize from the sales of lands there. I believe that had the Canadian Pacific Railway followed the route adopted by the Liberal Government instead of traversing the most barren portion of the Territories, we would have realized immense returns from the sale of lands in the North-west. The hon. gentleman made a very unfair comparison of the debt of Canada with the debts of the Australian colonies. He was not fair enough to inform the House that those colonies have spent immense sums in the construction of railways. They have spent \$450,000,000 in this way; the Government own 13,000 miles of railway, and this investment which adds enormously to the debt of the colony yields a dividend of 3½ per cent per annum. The hon. gentleman failed to tell the House that the Australian colonies own the telegraph lines and extensive irrigation works, and have erected and own such public buildings as court houses and school houses, which are built in Ontario by the municipalities. The hon. gentleman dwelt on the value of the home

market, and almost immediately afterwards admitted the great need of enlarged markets. In beautiful language he advised us to cultivate the markets of England which are seeking our surplus products, rather than the markets in the United States, a country which is our chief competitor in the English market. He contended it would not benefit the people of Canada to enter the markets of the United States, but if it is not any benefit to us, if that market is not the market we would like to possess, how is it that in spite of our tariff laws millions in value of our products find their way into that market every year? How is it that the McKinley Bill, harsh as it was, and intended to absolutely exclude our products, failed in its object? Even in the face of that Bill, millions of dollars worth of Canadian farm products entered the United States, and were sold there in competition with the products of the American farmers.

### NO FARMER IN THE CABINET.

The hon. gentleman (Mr. Smith) spoke of our lumbering industry, and quoted from the speech of the Lieutenant-Governor at the opening of the Ontario legislature. He (Mr. Smith) told us, that the market for lumber was dull in the United States, and, immediately after, he gave us the reason, namely, the stagnation of trade that has prevailed in that country during the past year. Well, Sir, the condition of trade there is rapidly improving, and soon our lumbermen will find the market of the United States attain its normal condition, and become, as it has been for years past, the very best market we have in the world for the products of our forests. Although

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the speech of our hon. friend (Mr. Smith) was badly impregnated with the virus of protection, yet I believe, that the Premier of this country would have done better to have selected him as Minister of Agriculture than the learned doctor who now occupies that position. We have sixteen Ministers in this present Government, but not one of them is a farmer. The great agricultural class, for whom hon. gentlemen opposite say so much has been done, has not a single representative in the Cabinet. This Government have no faith whatever in the intelligence, the brains, the knowledge, and the fair dealing of the agricultural classes. They do not wish to trust one of them with a portfolio in that great Cabinet—great in number, if nothing else. I regret that the Minister of Agriculture is not in his place in the House. I am sorry that he is forced for his health's sake to submit to the "remedial acts" of his medical advisers across the sea. However, I hope that, before the end of the session, he will be here to develop to us his wonderful designs for the betterment of the agricultural classes.

#### RIVERS AND STREAMS ACT.

Well, Sir, my hon. friend from Ontario (Mr. Smith) stands by his party and by their policy. That I cannot do, and I will give the reasons for my dissent, just as briefly as I can. In the first place, I am proud to belong to the Liberal party. I look upon it as the people's party, the distinguishing feature of which is now, and always has been, a well-founded and deeply-rooted trust of the people. I believe that the Liberal party has done much for the people of Canada. It was they who fought, year in and year out, the battle of responsible government; it was they who, in the past, fought against the Family Compact, which is to-day so closely imitated by hon. gentlemen opposite. It was they who fought against that combination, which was determined to rule this country, with or without the consent of the people. The Liberal party has always waged unceasing warfare against tyranny in any form. The Liberals, who have ruled the province of Ontario for the last twenty-four years, have placed on the statute-book of that province legislation defining the rights of labour and protecting labour against the tyranny of capital. It was they who passed laws defining the relations of landlord and tenant, and designed to protect the tenant from the extortion of the landlord. It was the Liberal party of Ontario who passed laws defining the relations of master and servant, and to protect the servant against wrong and injustice on the part of the employer. Sir, this party, of which I am a very humble member, has incessantly waged war against class legislation in every shape and form. It was the Liberals who overthrew a species of class legislation by their Rivers and Streams Act. Certain of our lumber-

men in this country assumed rights which they were not willing to accord to others. Some years ago, some of our lumbermen in the province of Ontario claimed the exclusive control of the streams down which they floated their logs and timber. In the rear of my constituency, the timber limits happened at that time to be owned by a man who made this claim. There were settlers there who owned large quantities of pine, cedar, hemlock, ash, basswood, and other timbers, all marketable and all valuable. The man who owned the limits and controlled the streams, would not purchase a stick of this timber, and neither would he allow any one else to enter his limits to purchase it. I have myself seen vast quantities of valuable timber, logged up and burned out of the way. Thousands of dollars worth were lost to the settlers, thus bringing them, in the years of their early struggles, to the verge of deep distress. Well, Sir, at last a lumberman ventured up into that country and took out some logs, and promptly the courts were invoked, and an injunction issued to restrain him from using the streams. The Liberals, then in power in the province of Ontario, I am happy to say, placed on the statute-books a law called the Rivers and Streams Act, which declared the streams to be free and open to all, on payment of reasonable slide-age dues. This was a piece of legislation which aimed at class privilege, and so it was promptly disallowed by this Government. It was passed again, and again disallowed; passed again, and only allowed to become law when the highest court of the realm declared that the Liberals in the province of Ontario were right, and that henceforth these streams should remain free and open to all, and that the settlers were at liberty to dispose of their timber to whom they chose.

Sir, the Liberal party denies the right to grant to any man advantages in the matter of trade over his fellows. They wage war against trusts, monopolies and combines. These, Sir, are some of the reasons why I am proud to belong to the Liberal party. And I was never prouder to be enrolled as a member of that party than I was on the 20th June, 1893, when I saw gathered in the largest building in this city of Ottawa thousands of earnest men, come from the east and the west, from the prairies of the North-west, from the provinces by the sea, and from all parts of Ontario and Quebec; men selected by the rank and file of the great Liberal party to represent them in the largest convention that was ever held in the Dominion of Canada. Sir, when I saw these earnest men, come here to discuss the issues of the day, to discuss the best means of governing this great country of ours; then indeed my heart swelled with pride that I belonged to a party which could gather together an assemblage of men so representative and so creditable to their country.

I would ask my hon. friends opposite: When have they dared to call a convention of the rank and file of their party? Never once have they dared to issue the call; never once have the great Liberal-Conservative party been summoned to meet their leaders in a convention in any city in the land. The Government here are self-appointed dictators, and not the chosen leaders of their party. They name the leaders, they dictate the policy, and, after the manner of the old family compact, they simply command their followers throughout the country to obey. What are the results? The people think for themselves, and to-day we find that great Conservative party divided and split into factions, some following one leader, some following another, and many in open rebellion against all leaders. We see the Cabinet itself unable to hold together. Sir, contrast the condition of the Conservative party with that of the Liberal party to-day. United to a man, enthusiastically loyal to their leader, we stand undaunted before all the forces that the Conservatives are able to array against us.

#### THE GREAT LIBERAL CONVENTION.

Well, Sir, this convention assembled, and what for? Was it to adopt a platform ready-made for them? By no means. No leader of the Liberal party ever yet expected an unthinking, unreasoning following or obedience from his followers in the country. Liberals are members of their party, each one in his own right having his own position in it. This convention was called by the desire of our leader, who was chosen by the representatives of the party in this House, who at last yielded to the urgent, unanimous and enthusiastic demand of his colleagues, and accepted the leadership of the Liberals, with all its responsibilities. And, Sir, when I heard the ringing cheers, the tumultuous applause with which his name was greeted by that convention, I knew that he was hailed as the leader of the Liberals of Canada, from the Pacific to the Atlantic. He called that convention together to take counsel with them as to the best platform to be adopted by the Liberals of Canada. As usual, the convention themselves appointed a committee on resolutions, and in due course that committee reported to the convention ten resolutions altogether. These are to-day the planks composing the platform of the Liberal party. There are familiar features in every one of these planks. The Liberal party did not depart one jot or tittle from the principles we have been advocating for many years in this country. Sir, it was said at that convention that its members were grave and sober enough to be a conference of clergymen, or a convention of prohibitionists. They were grave men, met to discuss grave issues. It was an experience, Sir, never to be forgotten—the ringing cheers with which plank

after plank of the platform was hailed by those grave men, who stood in their chairs and waved their hats and coats in the air and declared with shouts, their assent to each resolution as it was read to them.

#### THE LIBERAL PLATFORM.

Sir, what is the platform that was thus adopted? The last speaker tells us that he does not understand what the platform of the Liberal party is. I am sorry for him, because we have been endeavouring here, as clearly as possible, to inform him, and others, what our platform is. Some hon. gentlemen have already read the planks of that platform in this House, and I propose to do the same. We shall soon go to the country, and I do not want hon. gentlemen opposite to misrepresent our position. I do not think they will do it willingly. But, to remove any excuse, I will read the planks of that platform, one by one, with a few brief remarks on each:

We, the Liberal party of Canada, in convention assembled, declare:

##### 1. FREER TRADE—REDUCED TAXATION.

That the customs tariff of the Dominion should be based, not as it is now upon the protective principle, but upon the requirements of the public service;

That the existing tariff, founded upon an unsound principle, and used, as it has been by the Government, as a corrupting agency wherewith to keep themselves in office, has developed monopolies, trusts and combinations;

It has decreased the value of farm and other landed property;

It has oppressed the masses to the enrichment of a few;

It has checked immigration;

It has caused great loss of population;

It has impeded commerce;

It has discriminated against Great Britain.

In these and many other ways it has occasioned great public and private injury, all of which evils must continue to grow in intensity as long as the present tariff system remains in force.

That the highest interests of Canada demand a removal of this obstacle to our country's progress, by the adoption of a sound fiscal policy, which, while not doing injustice to any class, will promote domestic and foreign trade, and hasten the return of prosperity to our people;

That to that end, the tariff should be reduced to the needs of honest, economical and efficient government;

That it should be so adjusted as to make free, or to bear as lightly as possible upon, the necessities of life, and should be so arranged as to promote freer trade with the whole world, more particularly with Great Britain and the United States.

We believe that the results of the protective system have grievously disappointed thousands of persons who honestly supported it, and that the country, in the light of experience, is now prepared to declare for a sound fiscal policy.

The issue between the two political parties on this question is now clearly defined.

The Government themselves admit the failure of their fiscal policy, and now profess their willingness to make some changes; but they say that such changes must be based only on the principle of protection.



We denounce the principle of protection as radically unsound, and unjust to the masses of the people, and we declare our conviction that any tariff changes based on that principle must fail to afford any substantial relief from the burdens under which the country labours.

This issue we unhesitatingly accept, and upon it we await with the fullest confidence the verdict of the electors of Canada.

Sir, in this plank we have not declared for the abolition of all duties. We have not declared for absolute free trade—free trade as they have it in England, or anywhere else. So far as I am myself concerned, I would like very much, indeed, if we were in a position to go for absolute free trade. I believe in free trade. What is good enough for Great Britain, what has brought prosperity to that country, is good enough for me. But I am aware that hon. gentlemen opposite have so manacled this country, have so loaded us down with enormous liabilities, that it will be impossible for us, for many years to come, to get along without a tariff.

#### TARIFF FOR REVENUE ONLY.

We propose, then, in this resolution, a tariff for revenue, and only for so much revenue as is actually required for the services of our country, honestly and economically administered. Under such a tariff, there will be protection. If there is any tax levied on imported goods at all, that, in the nature of things, must be a measure of protection. To a considerable extent there will be incidental protection. The policy of hon. gentlemen opposite is a tariff for protection. This, if logically carried out, must be a tariff of exclusion. It must be meant to exclude the commodities upon which the taxes are levied. In regard to the article of sugar, for example, it means the absolute exclusion of all refined sugar, with the exception of a very small quantity indeed.

#### SUGAR.

In this plank of our platform, we condemn the tariff policy of the Government, because it has developed monopolies. It has developed monopolies in sugar refining, in cotton manufacturing, in coal, in oil, and in many other lines. I would like, for a few moments, to take up the case of the manufacture of sugar. In 1894, speaking to a resolution moved by the hon. member for South Brant (Mr. Paterson), the hon. member for Halifax, whose company, I understand, is largely engaged in refining sugar, said in this House that he believed the Canadian refiners could refine sugar as cheaply as American refiners, at least, so near to it that the difference does not affect the calculation at all. But why is it that they want a little more protection? It is because the market of Canada is not so large.

Now, I interpret this to mean that if the market of Canada were secured to

the sugar refiners, they would then give us sugar as cheap as it could be purchased in the United States. During that same session, I read to the House quotations for the months of January, February and March, 1894, of the prices of sugar in Montreal and in New York; and I showed that the difference in price between Montreal and New York was 28 cents per hundred pounds in favour of New York. Thus, on the 250,000,000 pounds of consumption of that year, the refiners of Canada were taking from the consumers here about \$700,000 more than the refiners were receiving for a like quantity of sugar sold in New York. Therefore, they were not giving us sugar as cheaply as it was sold in the United States.

But I see no reason why we should be forced to purchase our sugar in the markets of New York. For my part, I would much prefer purchasing it in England for many reasons. In the first place, England being a large consumer of our products, it is but fair-play and right that we should trade with her as extensively as possible. Then, for selfish reasons, the providing of west-bound cargoes for the ships engaged in our carrying trade means a direct benefit to persons on this side shipping the produce of our farmers to the English market. Senator Drummond, speaking on this sugar question, declared:

As a manufacturer, I say that my preference is distinctly to be placed in the position of a manufacturer of cotton and have my raw material duty free. If that were so, I honestly believe that we could supply the trade and the country with sugar as cheaply as in England; but as a manufacturer, it is perhaps stepping out of my province to suggest.

Well, Sir, up to the 3rd of May last, the refiners had raw sugar duty free, and last session I showed the House by quotations taken from the London "Times" and the Montreal "Gazette" that sugar was sold in Montreal at an average advance on the price of London of 78 cents per hundred pounds, and that on the total consumption this meant a difference of \$2,340,000 a year. Instead of giving us sugar as cheaply as it could be bought in England our refiners charged us \$2,340,000 more for it.

I cannot see why our refiners are not able to refine sugar as cheaply as do the refiners in England. The raw material can be delivered at Halifax or Montreal at practically the same price as at the refineries in England. Of course, now that there is a duty of 50 cents per hundred pounds on the raw material, our refiners must add that to the price of the refined sugar, but they have no right to any more. If they add any more they are then taking from us as a bonus, under cover of the tariff which protects them, whatever difference there may be over and above the prices for which the sugar could be laid down here by the English refiners. If they live up



to the promise implied in the remarks of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Stairs), and the speech from Senator Drummond, refined sugar could be sold here at an advance of 50 cents only on the price in England, 50 cents being the duty levied on the raw material.

Now, I shall give the House quotations, since the duty was placed on the raw material on the 3rd May last, showing the prices of granulated sugar in Liverpool and in Montreal:

Prices of granulated sugar in Liverpool and Montreal:—

| Date.                | London Times Quotations.                       |              | Journal of Commerce.           |
|----------------------|------------------------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------|
|                      | Price in Liverpool Lyle's Standard Granulated. |              | Price in Montreal per 100 lbs. |
|                      | Per 112 lbs.                                   | Per 100 lbs. |                                |
| 1895.                | s. d.                                          | § cts.       | § cts.                         |
| May 3.....           | 14 3                                           | 3 08         | 4 12½                          |
| " 16.....            | 14 6                                           | 3 14         | 4 25                           |
| " 23.....            | 14 9                                           | 3 20         | 4 25                           |
| " 30.....            | 14 0                                           | 3 02         | 4 25                           |
| June 6.....          | 14 0                                           | 3 02         | 4 25                           |
| " 13.....            | 13 9                                           | 2 97         | 4 25                           |
| " 20.....            | 13 9                                           | 2 97         | 4 25                           |
| " 27.....            | 13 6                                           | 2 91         | 4 25                           |
| July 4.....          | 13 9                                           | 2 97         | 4 25                           |
| " 11.....            | 14 0                                           | 3 02         | 4 25                           |
| " 18.....            | 14 0                                           | 3 02         | 4 25                           |
| " 25.....            | 14 0                                           | 3 02         | 4 12½                          |
| August 1.....        | 13 9                                           | 2 97         | 4 12½                          |
| " 8.....             | 14 0                                           | 3 02         | 4 12½                          |
| " 15.....            | 13 9                                           | 2 97         | 4 12½                          |
| " 22.....            | 13 6                                           | 2 91         | 4 12½                          |
| " 29.....            | 13 9                                           | 2 97         | 4 12½                          |
| September 5.....     | 13 9                                           | 2 97         | 4 06½                          |
| " 12.....            | 13 9                                           | 2 97         | 4 06½                          |
| " 19.....            | 14 3                                           | 3 08         | 4 06½                          |
| " 26.....            | 14 0                                           | 3 20         | 4 06½                          |
| October 3.....       | 15 6                                           | 3 36         | 4 06½                          |
| " 10.....            | 16 3                                           | 3 53         | 4 12½                          |
| " 17.....            | 15 9                                           | 3 42         | 4 12½                          |
| " 24.....            | 15 3                                           | 3 30         | 4 12½                          |
| " 31.....            | 14 9                                           | 3 20         | 4 12½                          |
| November 7.....      | 14 6                                           | 3 14         | 4 12½                          |
| " 14.....            | 14 3                                           | 3 08         | 4 12½                          |
| " 21.....            | 14 3                                           | 3 08         | 4 12½                          |
| " 28.....            | 13 9                                           | 2 97         | 4 12½                          |
| December 5.....      | 14 3                                           | 3 06         | 4 31¼                          |
| " 12.....            | 14 9                                           | 3 20         | 4 31¼                          |
| " 19.....            | 14 9                                           | 3 20         | 4 31¼                          |
| " 26.....            | 14 9                                           | 3 20         | 4 31¼                          |
| Total, 34 weeks..... |                                                | 105 16       | 141 93½                        |
| Average.....         |                                                | 3 09         | 4 17                           |
|                      |                                                |              | 3 09                           |

Difference in price per 100 pounds in favour of Liverpool ..... 1 08

The average for the 34 weeks was \$3.09 per 100 pounds in Liverpool, against \$4.17 in Montreal, a difference in favour of Liverpool of \$1.08 per 100 pounds.

Now, Sir, up to the 3rd of May last, raw sugar was admitted into Canada free, and the duty on refined sugar was 64 cents per 100 pounds. On the 3rd of May the duty on raw sugar was fixed at 50 cents per 100 pounds, and the duty on refined sugar at \$1.14 per 100 pounds. The difference between the duty on refined and the duty on raw being 64 cents per 100 pounds. This is the protection that is given under the tariff to the sugar refiners of this country. I shall endeavour to show that they avail themselves of the whole of this protection; that they do not divide it at all with the people of Canada, but simply put it all in their own pockets.

#### ENORMOUS PROFITS OF THE REFINERS.

Before the duty was put on raw sugar, on the 3rd of May last, there was a large importation. According to the Trade and Navigation Returns, the imports from the 1st January to the 3rd of May amounted to 154,000,000 pounds, admitted to this country free. One-third of this, at least, if not more, has been sold since that time at the advanced price. Altogether, if the consumption between the 3rd of May and the 31st of December last was as great as the average for the last three years, we consumed during that time some 200,000,000 pounds of sugar. This was sold to the people, as I have shown by the quotations taken from these papers, at an average advance on the Liverpool price of \$1.08 per 100 pounds. This would amount, on the total of 200,000,000 pounds, to some \$2,160,000. That is the amount of money that the refiners of Canada received for the sugar sold during these eight months more than the Liverpool refiner would have charged for a like quantity there.

During that time, however, the Canadian refiners were called upon to pay 50 cents per 100 pounds duty on a part of the sugar that entered into the consumption of the eight months. In reply to a question, as appears by "Hansard" of the 5th instant, I was informed by the Government, that during those eight months the refiners had paid \$650,000 on raw sugar imported into the country. This amount must be taken from the excess charge of \$2,160,000, leaving \$1,510,000, which is the amount after providing for the duty for which our eight months' consumption of sugar was sold here in excess of the prices in Liverpool. At this rate our refineries are charging us for the sugar we consume in Canada some two and a quarter millions of dollars a year more than the same quantity could be purchased for in the Liverpool market, or a difference of 76 cents on every 100 pounds consumed.

Now, my quotations are up to 31st December last. I glanced over the quotations in the London "Times" and in the "Journal of Commerce" for January, and I find that the average price in Montreal during January was \$4.62½, and during the same month

in Liverpool, \$3.25 per 100 pounds, a difference in favour of Liverpool for the month of January of \$1.37 per 100 pounds. If we deduct from this the duty on raw sugar, 50 cents we find the net difference, after the payment of duty, was 87½ cents per 100 pounds.

I have said that the Canadian refiners took advantage of every cent of protection given. The difference between the duty on refined and the duty on raw sugar is the protection which the tariff gives them. But, in addition to that, they have the protection of the transportation charges. The protection which the tariff gives them is 64 cents per 100 pounds. The freight from Liverpool to Montreal, at 10s. per ton, amounts to about 12 cents per 100 pounds. Add this to the amount of tariff protection, and we find that our refiners enjoy a protection altogether of 76 cents per 100 pounds; and that is exactly the amount per 100 pounds which they charge for their sugar more than that sugar could be laid down for, freight and duty paid on the raw sugar.

But I was not content to depend entirely upon the newspaper quotations, and so, a short time ago, I wrote to one of the largest sugar refineries in the world, and asked them to give me some quotations of the prices of sugar. And I received, in due course, the following letter in reply:—

21 Mincing Lane, London, E.C.,  
6th February, 1896.

Geo. W. Dawson, Esq., M.P.,  
Ottawa, Can.

Dear Sir,—We have to acknowledge receipt with thanks of your favour of 27th ultimo. Our quotations to-day for 50 to 100 tons lots of granulated sugar are, for No. 1, 15s. per cwt., less 2½ per cent F.O.B., London; No. 2, 14s. 3d. per cwt., less 2½ per cent F.O.B., London. We trust business may result.

Yours faithfully,  
pro Abraham Lyle & Sons, Limited.  
W.T.G.

This 15s., quoted by Lyles, was subject to a discount of 2½ per cent. Their price is in our money \$3.57 per hundred-weight, or \$3.18 per 100 pounds, deducting the discount. On the same date, the "Journal of Commerce" quoted extra-granulated at \$4.75. Supposing the same discount of 2½ per cent were allowed, the price of extra-granulated at Montreal at that date would be \$4.63 against \$3.18, quoted in Lyle's letter, or a difference of \$1.45 per 100 pounds. Of this difference the Treasury of Canada receives 50 cents and the balance, 95 cents, goes into the refiner's pockets. I believe that, to-day, we could buy sugar in London, pay the freight to Montreal, via Halifax, pay the \$1.14 duty on the refined sugar, and have it at the same price as it is now sold in Montreal. I will give you my estimate, and you can deal with it as you please. Price in London, \$3.18 per 100 pounds. Allow ocean freight rates from London to Halifax at the same rate

charged last summer, 10s. per ton of 2,240 pounds, or 12 cents per 100 pounds. Add to that the railway freight from Halifax to Montreal at the rate of half a cent per ton per mile, which I believe would be a very liberal allowance on a large amount of freight, and that would amount to 19 cents per hundred pounds, or a total from London to Montreal via Halifax, of 31 cents. Add to that the duty, \$1.14, and we have: sugar, \$3.18; freight, 31 cents; duty, \$1.14; total, \$4.63, the exact net price in Montreal on that date.

Now, so far as I am concerned, I will be quite willing to pay as much for sugar refined in Montreal as Liverpool sugar would cost laid down there, that is 12 cents per hundred pounds more; but I object very strongly being compelled to pay in addition to that the 64 cents taken from us under cover of the tariff. This extra charge of 12 cents would amount to a very considerable sum indeed to the refiners of Canada, to no less a sum than \$360,000 every year. That should in itself be an ample protection to give this industry. It is contended, I know not with what truth, that the refiners of Canada pay higher wages than the refiners across the sea are obliged to pay. If so, this should be an ample protection to them, because it amounts to one-half their whole wage-sheet. The total amount they pay in wages is \$700,000 a year.

#### A BONUS TO THE REFINERS.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that it is little less than robbery to allow any industry to extort such enormous sums from the people of Canada as this one industry of sugar refining has extorted from us in years past, as I have repeatedly shown in this House, and as any man cannot help but realize if he will look up the market quotations. We are willing to allow a fair price, we are willing to allow our refiners whatever profits may be made by the refiners in England, and added to that, a sum equal to the transportation charges from Liverpool here; but they ought not to be privileged to charge us more. Now, I believe that if the refiners were deprived of this protection, if the duty upon refined sugar was reduced by this 64 cents per hundred pounds, the price of sugar would instantly drop 64 cents per hundred pounds, and the people of Canada would save on the amount of sugar which they consume each year no less a sum than \$1,920,000. This amount we are compelled to pay every year for the sugar supplied to us by our refiners more than the same quantity would cost us laid down by the English refiners, freight paid. Not a dollar of this sum finds its way into the treasury of the country, every dollar finds its way into the pockets of this one combine. This is a bonus, or a subsidy, to an industry giving employment to only some 1,900 men, and paying out in wages about \$700,000 a year.

We pay them \$1,900,000 as a bonus, and they return to the people, in the form of wages paid their men, \$700,000 a year.

#### DIRECT TAXATION BY THE SUGAR BARONS.

This is a very considerably tax; figuring it out, it amounts to about 40 cents per head of our population. Now, in Ontario, we consume our full share of sugar, and I believe that our share of this tribute, or tax, or bonus, or whatever you may call it, amounts to \$800,000 each and every year. This one industry takes from the pockets of the people of Ontario a sum larger than the amount spent annually by the province in maintaining the whole of our provincial institutions. We have seven asylums maintained by the provincial government, providing homes and the best of treatment for 5,454 patients. We have two reformatories, one central prison, one institute for the blind and one institute for the deaf and dumb; and the total cost of the maintenance of all these institutions is less than the amount which is extorted from the people of our province by this one monopoly, the sugar refiners.

There are hon. gentlemen in this House who went into every constituency in the province of Ontario and urged the people to hurl from power the Mowat Administration, because, as they alleged, a few eggs, a little jam, some pickles and some catsup were used per head in some of these public institutions more than they thought ought to have been consumed by one healthy man. This was one of the arguments urged against the Mowat Administration. Yet these same gentlemen stand up session after session, and back up and endorse a tariff which enables one industry to wring from the people of that province a larger sum than is paid to maintain the whole of its public institutions, including the jam, the eggs, the pickles and the catsup, which, they said, had been consumed into too large quantities.

We have a magnificent school system in the province of Ontario. Liberal grants of money are made to the poorer schools, so that education may be placed within the reach of all the children in the province, in every township and every county. Well, this subsidy amounts to rather more than \$100,000 a year in excess of the sum spent on education, including the grants to public and separate schools, to our High schools and collegiate institutes, maintained so that higher education may be placed within the reach of all, including the cost of schools of practical science, teachers' institutes and mechanics' institutes, and the cost and maintenance of normal, model and art schools, and the inspection of them all—this whole sum amounts to about \$100,000 less than this tribute we are forced to pay to this one combine, or industry, or monopoly, or whatever you may call it, of the sugar refiners of Canada.

Our contributions to this industry for eighteen months exceeds the whole cost of our parliament buildings in Toronto. I remember well, when the government talked of erecting the parliament buildings, that the people were urged to oppose them, on the ground that they were going to bring the province to the verge of ruin by expending such a large sum of money for that purpose. Yet the amount of tribute that is being paid to this one industry for eighteen months equals the whole cost of these parliament buildings.

Sir, the tribute which this industry exacts is more than the amount which was spent by the Ontario government for seven years in the construction and maintenance of colonization roads. During seven years, the government built 1,200 miles of new road through sparsely-settled portions of the country, opening up township after township for settlement; they repaired 2,790 miles of road, and they built and repaired 22,000 feet of bridges. I remember the sharp criticism of the items of the expenditure of the Crown Lands Department during the late campaign. There are some hon. gentlemen now in this House whom I heard denounce the government for their extravagant expenditure on colonization roads. But that expenditure for seven years does not equal the amount which these same men have compelled the people of the province of Ontario to pay as bonus to this one industry, the sugar monopoly.

Sir, let me call your attention to what the "Mail" said, in 1891, with reference to protection to the sugar refiners:

Protection is being run to the ground when it is allowed to extend to the sugar refineries the great advantages they now enjoy. It seems that it is possible to have too much of a good thing, and to work the goose-of-golden-egg-notoriety to death.

Well, I would like to see the "Mail-Empire" come out now in the interest of the people of Ontario, in the interest of the people of Canada, and advocate, with all the influence it possesses, the withdrawal from this combine of the advantages which they now enjoy and which they have abused.

#### TRIBUTE EXTORTED BY OUR COTTON LORDS.

Now, with reference to cotton, it is said that that article is as cheap here as it is anywhere else, if not cheaper. When it is sought to show that cotton manufactured in Canada is not as cheap as cotton produced in other countries, samples are shown, and it is at once said that the sample is not as good, and this simple assertion goes down with people whose eyes are blinded by their desire to maintain protection. But this we do know, that the combination that was called into existence in 1891 have been able to lay up enormous profits, according to their own confession. The Dominion



Cotton Company was organized early in 1891 with a capital of \$1,500,000; they purchased a number of mills, and went into business. From a statement issued by the company we learn that the profits for the first year amounted to 30 per cent on the whole capital, and for the second year 40 per cent. With such a showing it was impossible to go to the country and pretend that this was a struggling infant industry requiring protection, and so they devised a means of misleading the people as to the exact standing of their company. They concluded to double the stock, issuing shares amounting to \$1,500,000 more, distributing them to holders of the original issue of stocks. They did not by any means propose to charge for the shares 100 cents on the dollar of their face value, but they took from the holders of the original stock 10 per cent of the face value and issued the new shares to them. In this way, while the capital appeared to be doubled, it was simply increased from \$1,500,000 to \$1,650,000, by the addition of \$150,000, for which the second issue of stock was sold to the happy investors. The third year, fourth year and first half of the fifth year showed enormous profits. Altogether in four years and a half this company, according to their own confession, earned profits amounting to \$1,982,551, or \$332,551 more than the whole sum put into the industry; they paid off the old stock after four and a half years and had a surplus of over \$300,000.

There may be, and I have no doubt there are, some industries which have difficulty in earning profits on their capital. Tariff restriction enhances the cost of the output of many manufacturers. The raw material of many of them is the finished product of other industries, and the tariff increases the cost of this raw material to them, and so many of them have to struggle as best they can to earn interest on the capital invested. It is my belief that the legislation of hon. gentlemen opposite, which was designed to hand over the markets of Canada to our manufacturers, has not worked well for them. The enormous profits which were earned at first induced over-production. The high prices paid for manufactured goods and the low prices paid for farm products played havoc with the farmers of our country and other great consuming classes. They cannot now purchase as freely as they could at one time, they cannot now purchase freely enough to absorb the manufacturers' output. I believe that a healthier fiscal system would be an untold benefit to all honest manufacturers in Canada. Finding foreign markets closed against their high-priced goods, the home market losing its purchasing power and all the time the output of manufacturers increasing, many of them have been compelled to combine for the purpose of regulating not only prices but the output. How successfully it has worked, I have shown by the facts I have given regarding two of the

combines in this country. Other combines are the same in their results. Human nature is the same with all men, and while legislation gives manufacturers advantages and enables them to charge high prices, they will certainly avail themselves of the opportunity. I do not blame manufacturers for their extortion one half as much as I blame the people for permitting them the privilege which they enjoy and which they have abused. Sir, I believe that there is no more true statement in the first plank of our platform than that "it has oppressed the masses to the enrichment of the few."

To-day in every city in our land you will find men out of work, healthy, able, honest, sober and industrious men asking employment which they cannot obtain. Not only in our cities, but in our country places there are men who would be glad to do any kind of honest labour, but they find it impossible to get it. Why is this? It was said by hon. gentlemen opposite that we would never have any unemployed in this happy country when once the National Policy had sunk its roots deep in this Dominion. During eighteen years the National Policy has had an opportunity to sink its roots deep, but to-day there are more unemployed in Canada than at any period in our country's history.

#### MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES UNDER LOW TARIFF.

I do not believe a reformation of the tariff would destroy our infant industries. It was said last session by the Minister of Railways and Canals that the adoption of the Liberal tariff policy meant that "the whole manufacturing class would be swept away at one blow," and "with the same blow the capital invested in manufacturing would be swept out of existence." I am afraid the Minister has no faith in Canadians. He has forgotten that from 1871 to 1881 under a revenue tariff, during the regime of the Liberal Administration, when times were said to be so hard, when the manufacturers had no special protection, the capital invested in our industries increased 103 per cent. From 1881 to 1891, with our magnificent National Policy in existence, with protection afforded to our manufacturers, the increase was only 107 per cent. Here is a picture of the condition of our manufacturing industries under a low tariff, as described by Sir Leonard Tilley in his budget speech in 1879, as will be found in "Hansard." Alluding to the budget speech which the hon. gentleman delivered in 1873, he said:

In 1873 I could point with satisfaction to the various manufacturing industries that were in operation throughout the length and breadth of the Dominion—remuneration to the men who had invested their capital in them and giving employment to tens of thousands.

This statement was made at a time when the lowest tariff ever known in Canada prevailed.

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## EXPORT OF MANUFACTURED GOODS.

Sir, after eighteen years of protection, our exports of manufactured goods make a very pitiful showing. The Trade and Navigation Returns give for the year ending 30th June last, \$7,768,875 as the value of the exports of manufactured goods. From this I think it is but fair to deduct household effects, effects of settlers fleeing from this tariff, the amount being \$991,735; ice, \$4,825; rags, \$63,819, or altogether, \$1,060,379, leaving a balance of \$6,708,496 representing the total exports. This sum includes brick, extract of hemlock bark, charcoal, leather and wood manufactures which are in no sense or way benefited by protection, the total being \$2,700,000. Deducting this sum from the amount of manufactures exported leaves \$4,000,000 as the value of the exports of manufactures during last year, that is to say, of exports in any way benefited by protection. Contrast that with the export of industries which are in no sense protected. Of the products of our mines, we exported abroad \$7,000,000 worth; of our fisheries, over \$10,500,000 worth; of our forests, almost \$24,000,000 worth; and from our farms, more than \$50,000,000 worth. And add to these, the amount short returned from inland ports, three and one-third million dollars, and we find that our unprotected industries shipped out of Canada, \$95,000,000 worth last year, against \$4,000,000 worth of manufactured goods exported during the same period.

## FREE BREAKFAST TABLE.

We are told it has been a most auspicious feature in this policy of the Government, the National Policy that we have in this country an institution unknown in any other country, namely, a free breakfast table. Well, Sir, in spite of what hon. gentlemen opposite contend, there are not a few articles which generally appear on our breakfast tables, and which are taxed. I will read you a few of them, and give you the tax which is actually paid by the people, before these commodities find a place on the breakfast table:

|                                  |           |
|----------------------------------|-----------|
| Baking powder and soda .....     | \$ 18,337 |
| Yeast .....                      | 10,183    |
| Mustard .....                    | 13,688    |
| Spices .....                     | 17,878    |
| Rice .....                       | 143,399   |
| Tapioca and arrowroot .....      | 6,583     |
| Currants .....                   | 56,283    |
| Figs .....                       | 13,526    |
| Prunes .....                     | 27,082    |
| Dates .....                      | 7,688     |
| Raisins .....                    | 119,549   |
| Tea (indirect importation) ..... | 6,132     |
| Coffee .....                     | 7,580     |
| Molasses .....                   | 68,606    |
| Salt .....                       | 5,872     |
| Cocoa and chocolate .....        | 28,645    |
| Dishes .....                     | 151,225   |
| Table cutlery .....              | 18,000    |

|                                                 |          |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Macaroni and vermicelli .....                   | \$ 3,403 |
| Rice and sago, flour and sago .....             | 3,675    |
| Oranges, lemons and limes .....                 | 91,840   |
| Sugar, raw and refined, to 31st Dec., '96 ..... | 710,343  |

Total ..... \$1,529,517

Altogether, there is a tax upon our breakfast table of \$1,529,517, paid into the treasury, and, in addition to that, there is \$1,900,000 of the unearned profits extorted from us by the sugar refiners, making a total taxation on our breakfast table supplies, of over three and a half million dollars a year. Now, Sir, if we are content with a very simple breakfast indeed, and confine it to porridge, ham, potatoes, bread and milk, it would still not be able to escape taxation, because we would be obliged to pay duty on salt for our porridge, and mustard for our ham, and our dishes and cutlery are already taxed. Sir, there is no free breakfast table in Canada. We have a tax on soda and yeast, mustard and rice, tapioca and currants, figs and raisins, dates and prunes, cocoa and salt, cutlery and dishes, tea and coffee, molasses and sugar. But why should we complain? In the free list of imports, I find we can take into this country, sand and roots free of duty, sawdust and grass, free of duty, horse hair and ice, free of duty, leeches and crude bones, free of duty. Let us not complain. The hungry may be fed, we have a free breakfast table, for are not leeches and crude bones admitted free?

Sir, we have a tax on machinery and tools, on axes and saws, on scythes and hoes, on forks and spades, on nails and bolts, on glass and oil, on carpets and furniture, on sewing machines and stoves, on ropes and iron, on hardware and pumps. All these are taxed, but still we ought to be comforted, because rags are admitted free. Sir, we are taxed to death in this country, and when we die, our friends are taxed on the coffin to contain our bones. But if we flee from the oppression of this poor man's tariff, and happen to die abroad, we can be brought back into this country without any taxation on our friends, for skeletons are admitted duty free.

## SHRINKAGE IN LAND VALUES.

The National Policy has decreased the value of farm and other landed property.

So this plank No. 1 of the Liberal platform declares. The decrease in the value of farm lands has been admitted on all sides in this House. The hon. member for Centre Toronto (Mr. Cockburn) declared that he believed that the depression of the value of farm lands was not less than 25 per cent. I believe that there are hon. gentlemen in this House who know by their own knowledge and sad experience, that the depreciation in the value of farm lands in Canada is not less than 35 per cent. Why is it that there should be such a decrease in the value of agricultural lands? This country is, first

of all, an agricultural country. The cost of living has been increased by the tariff, the cost of production of the crop has been increased by the tariff, the cost of the working expenses of the farm has been increased by the tariff, but the tariff has failed, and completely failed to increase the price at which the farmer's crop can be sold. But, Sir, the depreciation in value has not been confined to agricultural lands only. Our cities depend for their prosperity on the prosperity of the agricultural classes. When the agriculturists of Canada are not prosperous, our cities cannot be prosperous. Under the impetus of the promises made for the National Policy, our cities grew apace. The city of Toronto expanded over the adjoining country; new streets were opened up; large building operations were entered on in the fond belief that the requirements of the country would equal what Toronto so enlarged would be able to supply. Alas for Toronto and the people who invested their money during the boom period, these expectations were not realized, and so, last fall we found a newspaper with page after page, not less than thirty-two columns of advertisements of lands offered for sale in the city of Toronto for unpaid taxes. Not less than 1,248 parcels of property were offered under the auctioneer's hammer, for unpaid taxes. So much had the land depreciated that the arrears of taxation were allowed to roll up for two or three years, until the city was forced to sell the land to realize the taxation upon the lots.

#### SLAVERY AND PROTECTION.

Sir, this tariff has robbed us of our liberty. It is almost as bad as slavery. What is the difference between slavery and protection? Very slight, indeed. Slavery is a system under which I am deprived of my right to choose a market for my labour, under which I am robbed of my wages, under which my muscles and brains are used to benefit my owner, and under which my life is spent in toil to add to his wealth. Now, what is protection? It is a system under which I am fettered in the choice of a market for the products of my labour, under which I may not exchange the fruits of my labour where I choose, and under which I have got to exchange them by such channels as are provided for me by those who have enacted this iniquitous law, called protection. I am robbed of a portion of my wages to swell the extortionate profits of those who have combined to compel me to pay this tribute to them. Slavery and protection are designed by selfish men to benefit and to enrich the classes at the expense of the masses of the people.

Protection has oppressed the masses to the enrichment of the few. Sir, it is said by hon. gentlemen opposite that this is not so, that we have no people of great wealth in

this Dominion, but that the wealth is distributed evenly among all the people of the country. I give in evidence against these hon. gentlemen, the words of the late Hon. Sir John Abbott, who, in speaking in the Senate, 1891, said in the debate on the salary of judges:

I remember when a man could live in this country for one-half the amount he could live on now; when the fortunes which judges in the attempt to maintain their social rank had to compete with, were not one-tenth nor one-hundredth part of what they are now. It is not so long ago when the sight of a millionaire would have attracted crowds in the streets. Now there is not a town in the country where you could not find men who are several times millionaires.

Where did these men get their millions? From the pockets of the people. Who are these millionaires? They are the sugar refiners, the cordage manufacturers, the cotton men, the tobacco manufacturers, the owners of distilleries, and the owners of other protected industries. These are the men who have become millionaires with whom the judges can no longer compete in the attempt to maintain their social position in the land. Under protection, these men have only to sit still, many of them, and wealth will flow in upon them without any effort on their part. Some of them to-day would outrival Solomon in all his glory, and yet they toll not, neither do they spin.

#### THE TARIFF REVISION OF 1894.

Sir, the Finance Minister declares that the very object of a protective tariff in its initial stages is to give a vantage ground. He says:

The object of a protective tariff in its initial stages is to give a vantage ground, and in giving it I frankly admit that in the initial stages the price will be raised to a certain degree. I say that in the initial years of the National Policy with a protective principle in it that it will have the effect of enhancing the cost of goods, and that at the first the cost of goods will be very closely up to the measure of the protection which was given. If it does not have that effect, why should it ever be adopted at all, and what is the good of it?

These are the words of the present Minister of Finance, in his Budget speech of March, 1894. He says that at first the cost of goods will be very closely up to the measure of the protection that is given. By combination, to-day the manufacturers of our country see that the cost of our goods is kept up very near to the measure of the protection given to them. With this thought in his mind, the Finance Minister proceeded to revise the tariff. He made many changes, and then coolly assured the country that the changes would relieve the people of Canada of many burdens of taxation. This he called tariff reform, and this tariff reform was hailed with delight by many of his followers, who had become sick



of the National Policy. But what did it amount to? Did it, in fact, as he said, relieve the people of Canada of many burdens of taxation? The Trade and Navigation Returns of last year tell a very different story. Let us take the average of taxation of three years up to the 30th June, 1894, so as not to single out any particular year. For those three years the dutiable goods entered for consumption amounted to \$201,313,490, and on these we collected in duty \$61,092,006, which is just about \$30.27 on every \$100 worth imported. Now, Sir, if the promise of hon. gentlemen opposite had been honestly kept, the succeeding year after the tariff was amended would naturally show a substantial reduction in the duties collected; but what are the facts? The dutiable goods entered for consumption amounted to \$58,557,655, and the duty collected was \$17,887,269, or just about \$30.55 on every \$100 worth imported—actually more than was charged and collected under the late tariff.

#### THE MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION.

Now, Sir, why was it that the Government did not revise its tariff in the interests of the people? It was simply because there was a power behind the throne which they had to hearken to, and which would not permit them to revise the tariff in accordance with the demands expressed by the people of Canada, both in this House and in the press, from one end of the Dominion to the other, by Liberals and Conservatives alike. The power behind the throne is the Manufacturers' Association. These men control the Government of Canada; they are the masters of the Government of Canada. I quote from the report of J. J. Cassidy, secretary of the Manufacturers' Association, read at the annual meeting of the association held in Toronto on Wednesday, February 28th, 1895—that was after the so-called tariff revision. He reviewed the political events since last meeting; commended the efforts of the Premier "to open up new avenues of trade, particularly for our manufacturers"; approved of his Australian trip and the appointment of J. S. Larke as commissioner to that country, and of Hon. W. B. Ives's succession to the portfolio of Trade and Commerce. He continues:

It is gratifying to know that under the newly organized Government the interests of Canadian manufacturers will receive the best consideration.

With one of the best friends the manufacturers ever had in the Government as Premier, with Mr. Foster still in charge of the Finance Department, and with Mr. Ives as Minister of Trade and Commerce, manufacturers should experience a feeling of the utmost security and confidence.

In accordance with the usage of this association previous to your last meeting the tariff committee of the association, in the discharge of their duty, entered upon a close and careful examination of all matters brought before it by

members of the association relating to the tariff. The situation at that time was critical. An excitement, amounting to a furor, had been worked up by the enemies of protection and some who had previously declared themselves staunch adherents of the National Policy weakened.

It was evident, however, that some changes in the tariff were imperative, and that if they were not inaugurated by the friends of protection the Government could not survive, and that the enemies of protection would come into power.

It was under these circumstances that the tariff committee entered upon their labours, the result of which was the embodiment of their views in a communication to the Finance Minister, which elicited from him a kindly letter, in which he alluded to it as a well-prepared brief, in which all the matters therein discussed had been done full justice.

Perhaps it might be going too far to even surmise the effect these recommendations of your tariff committee to the Minister, may have had in the final arrangement of the tariff; but it is but an act of justice to the committee to direct attention to the large number of changes that have been made in the tariff along the lines suggested in the recommendations and that in many instances the language used in both is substantially identical. This is particularly noticeable as regards the iron schedule, the duties upon textiles, the duties upon drugs, chemicals, alcoholic preparations, &c., as well as upon an extended list of miscellaneous articles, and large and most important additions to the list of non-dutiable articles.

It is also to be noticed that in many instances where the recommendations suggested that no changes be made in the duties upon articles therein enumerated no changes were made.

The association has just reason for congratulating itself upon the influence it possesses in assisting to mould public opinion in the matter of affording tariff protection to our manufacturing industries, and in shaping the laws of the country in conformity thereto.

Why, Sir, this Manufacturers' Association are boastful of their power. They believe, and I am not disposed to disagree with that belief, that they have this Government under their thumb—that, in fact, this Manufacturers' Association sent the Government here to enact such laws as they might dictate. The secretary adds:

The brief as prepared by the secretary was presented to the Minister, Hon. Mr. Foster, at Ottawa, on 26th February, 1894, the receipt of which was acknowledged by him as hereinbefore alluded to.

He winds up as follows, addressing the members of the association:

The fortress of protection does not totter to its fall, as its enemies declare, because you and such as you sustain it. There will be no collapse as these enemies predict.

In Sir Mackenzie Bowell we have a man at the head of our national affairs who is a sturdy and devoted adherent to our existing system, and who will hold his way steadily in the course he long since helped to mark out—

We on this side of the House are disposed to think that he will hold his course steadily in other directions as well, in spite of certain of his followers in the Cabinet and in this House.

—and, as an association and as individuals, no doubt your best and most earnest support will be given to his Government as long as the Government adhere to the principle of tariff protection to Canadian manufacturing industries.

Now, Sir, the Government must take warning. There is a covert threat in this promise. They will give the Government their unalterable allegiance and help just so long as they are willing to adhere to the principles of tariff protection to the industries which this association represents. Mr. R. W. Elliott, past president of the association, read a paper, in which the following paragraph appears:

In every electoral contest in which the principle of the National Policy is involved, every member of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association will fight for the right.

That is, the right of monopoly, the right to take unearned a portion of another man's wealth—rights worthy of the dark ages, when might was right, of the times of the old barons along the rivers of Germany, or of the chieftains in Scotland in ancient times, when it was considered right to take by force tribute from all passing traders.

We have, he said, in the past, and it is to be hoped we will in the future, devote any small surplus of our membership fees to spreading the truth by means of campaign literature and campaign speeches.

We have seen some samples of the campaign literature which the Manufacturers' Association spread during an election contest. They generally take the form of \$2, \$3 and \$5 bills. This is the kind of literature they usually spread, and I have not a doubt but that they will, in the future, devote any small surplus from the fees of their association to the circulation of such literature.

#### THE SINEWS OF WAR !

Now, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association objects to the personnel of this House. They do not think that there are enough manufacturers here. Although the revision of the tariff was admittedly made on the lines suggested by them, even to the extent of adopting their language, so that there would not be even a verbal difference between the tariff as passed by this House and that proposed by the association, they are not satisfied. They find that there are not sufficient manufacturers in this House. Under date of 19th July, 1895, the "Canadian Manufacturer" complains bitterly, that there are not more manufacturers here. It says:

While the manufacturers were compelled to produce the sinews of war in the ever recurring fights to establish and maintain the policy, they were elbowed aside to make room for professional politicians, as has been repeatedly shown in these pages.

The sinews of war—here is a confession, an admission of what occurred—and which we only till then surmised—when the represen-

tatives of this association met the old chieftain in the famous red parlour and talked with him over the issues of the day, and decided on the amount of boodle that would be necessary to enable him to carry the different constituencies in the coming campaign. The "Manufacturer" winds up with this declaration:

Sir John and his party could never have attained to power without the active assistance of the manufacturers of Canada.

#### PROTECTION HAS CHECKED IMMIGRATION.

Mr. Speaker, I have just a word or two more to say on this plank Number one, and then I am done with that plank:

It has checked immigration. It has caused great loss of population.

I admit this with a great deal of sadness, because there can be nothing more deplorable than loss of population in a country like Canada. Sir, when we speak of the exodus under the National Policy, during the ten years from 1881 to 1891, the report is made, that there was an exodus under the Mackenzie Administration. Well, so there was, but, probably, that exodus did not exceed 32,000 souls a year. The utmost charge was, that 42,000 people left Canada every year during the Mackenzie Administration. The Mackenzie Government was roundly denounced for this exodus. The Opposition of that day declared that it must be stopped, that some desperate remedy must be resorted to to stop this frightful exodus of our young people. In Sir John Macdonald's celebrated resolution—his famous National Policy declaration—he said:

The National Policy will retain in Canada thousands of our fellow-countrymen now obliged to expatriate themselves in search of employment denied them at home.

Sir, the people endorsed this policy. By 1881 it had got fairly under way, by 1881 it was pretty fairly planted in the country, and by 1891 we looked for the results, and I can well imagine the sickening sense of disappointment felt by hon. gentlemen opposite, as well as the deep regret felt by hon. gentlemen on this side, when they found the census revealing the fact that the prophecies of hon. gentlemen opposite of a great increase of population had dismally failed.

#### LOSS OF POPULATION.

In figuring up the loss of population during those ten years, I will spare the feelings of hon. gentlemen opposite as much as I can, and estimate the natural increase of population at 14 per cent, instead of 20 per cent, which, I believe, would be a fair estimate of the natural increase of a population so vigorous as ours. Well, estimating the natural increase in the ten years from 1881 to 1891 at 14 per cent, it amounted

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to 605,000. During these same ten years, there were brought into this country 886,000 immigrants, according to the reports of the Department of Agriculture. These immigrants would naturally have increased also, but, making no allowance for their natural increase, and simply adding the 886,000 to the natural increase of 605,000 in our own population, we should have had an increase of population, in these ten years, of at least 1,491,000. But, as a matter of fact, we found, by actual count, that our population had increased only 504,000, showing that 987,000 people had left Canada during these ten years, or well upon 100,000 souls per year, as against 42,000 per year, which was the most extreme estimate of the exodus during the Mackenzie regime. It is difficult, I admit, to determine accurately the natural increase of any country, but we know that the total increase for the ten years was only 504,000, and we know that the immigrants who came in numbered 886,000. So that, leaving out the natural increase, whatever it might be, and deducting simply the total increase in population of 504,000 from the total immigration of 886,000 in those ten years, and we find we have lost by the exodus 382,000 of that immigration, besides the natural increase, whatever it might be.

#### NEW BRUNSWICK.

Sir Leonard Tilley, who ably advocated the National Policy, thought that it would specially benefit the maritime provinces, and in particular his own province of New Brunswick. How it must have wrung his heart, when the census returns showed that the whole increase in the population of New Brunswick was 63 souls between 1881 and 1891, under the National Policy, and this despite the fact that during that time railways had been constructed in all parts of the province and new country opened up, the country developed in many parts that were undeveloped before, and yet the whole increase was only 63 souls, against 5,639 between 1871 and 1881. Sir, there is one city in New Brunswick whose population increased between 1871 and 1881 and also between 1881 and 1891. Deducting the population of Moncton from the total population of the province, we find this to be the fact, that the increase, outside of Moncton, from 1871 to 1881 was 32,207, and that the decrease in the population of the province, outside of Moncton, from 1881 to 1891 was 3,703 souls. The National Policy drove out every immigrant that arrived seeking a home in New Brunswick, expatriated every soul of her natural increase, and drove with them 3,703 of a population besides. There is not one of our expatriated sons who does not yearn to return to this country, who would not hail with delight the day when a better fiscal system will enable him to return to Canada with the hope that he will be able to earn his daily bread here, so that he may join in that

ever-memorable phrase of the late chieftain, who said: "A British subject I was born, and a British subject I will die."

#### PROTECTION MORE DISASTROUS THAN WAR.

During these fatal ten years we had done much to open up Canada. We developed the North-west by the construction of main and branch lines pretty well through all the North-west, and we should have an increase of population there by hundreds of thousands, aye, by millions, according to the prophecies of hon. gentlemen opposite. Yet the increase has amounted to a little less than the population in one of our largest cities in Ontario. Sir, in the older provinces of Ontario and Quebec and the maritime provinces, there are vast areas of war-battered lands awaiting settlement. We have spent vast sums on railway enterprises, opening up the newer portions, and we had every reason to expect a large increase in population in the older provinces. As a matter of fact, the increase from 1881 to 1891 was about 8 per cent. From 1860 to 1870, the Southern States were devastated by the most destructive war the world has ever seen, hundreds of thousands of her sons were killed in battle, millions of acres of fertile lands were laid waste and the country left in ruins, yet we find that, in spite of all that disaster, the increase of population during these ten years was 14 per cent against 8 per cent in our provinces of Ontario, Quebec and the maritime provinces. The effect of this tragedy called the National Policy was worse than that of the sword in the southern states. Though war-swept and famine stricken, they increased their population at a rate almost double that of these provinces of ours. Is it to be wondered at, then, that the Liberals denounce the policy that has brought our fair country to a pass such as this, when she fails to hold our own people here, but instead drives them forth together with those who come seeking a home amongst us in this new land.

Why do they persist in this policy? They say that it is to build up manufacturing industries. Sir, no one more earnestly desires to see the manufacturing industries of Canada prosperous than I do. The pluck, the energy, the perseverance necessary to establish and carry on one of our industries entitle those engaged in it to consideration; they deserve to have a fair and adequate profit. But is it wise to induce production beyond the power of the people to consume? It is said that the capacity of manufacturers has doubled; and yet our population in all Canada has increased only 12 per cent. Tariff restrictions seem to have had this effect—they have made it impossible for our manufacturers to produce at such prices as will enable them to command a market in foreign countries. The exports of our manufactured goods is about \$4,000,000, an I



have shown—about enough to supply 100,000 people; not more than enough to supply the number of people who are annually driven out of our country during this reign of terror, as I may call it, of the National Policy. In the name of the manufacturers as well as the farmers, I say: Stop the exodus. The home market is the best for the manufacturers as it is the best for the farmers. Why drive the people away and force our manufacturers to send their goods abroad to overcome the tariff barriers of other countries and seek a market among our very people who have been driven out by this policy?

The hon. member for Pictou says that we shall increase now in population, because our country has been more fully developed; railway enterprise has opened up our country and, therefore, we may look for a large increase in the population in the next ten years. But the country was more developed between 1881 and 1891 than between 1871 and 1881; and yet I find that the increase in population in that decade, in 1871-1881, was 18 per cent against only 12 per cent in the decade, 1881-1891. Sir, the mother country is alarmed at our failure to attract population here, at our failure to find homes for their sons seeking them in the new world. It wrings her heart to find her eldest daughter, Canada, turning away tens of thousands of her own children as well as tens of thousands from the mother country seeking homes amongst us, forcing them to take up residence under the Stars and Stripes and to spend their energy in building up a nation that is alien to ours. The St. James "Gazette," commenting on the results of the census, said:

While America is filled up and brimming over and increasing its population by millions, Canada, if not exactly stationary, is increasing very slowly indeed. It had been commonly supposed that with the great boom in the North-west, Canada should have shown an increase of at least two millions or three millions during the last decade, and would be well on its way to something like the population of a second-rate European state; but all such hopes have been dashed by the census. The increase of population spills over the border and fills up the Northern and Western States. The men who were born in Canada and should become citizens of the Empire grow and die under the Stars and Stripes. Whether we like it or not, Canada is not doing, well, and has not been doing well for some time past.

And, Sir, it never can do well until we cease paralyzing the country's energies with the virus of protection. Under the Stars and Stripes nearly a million of our compatriots are living. They are men who hunger for the old home here in Canada; they love Canada with a greater love than that they have for their new home under the Stars and Stripes. What class of men go there? On one occasion the hon. member for Pictou declared that none went across the line except craven Grits. I know not what their politics were, but this I know, whether Grit or

Tory, cravens they are not. Nobly have they held their own in the land of their adoption. You will find their names first in trade, at the head of vast corporations engaged in transportation, and taking the lead in directing great banking institutions and other financial undertakings in the land which is now their home.

A million of them have gone, including our immigrants, not infants or little children, but stalwart young men and young women, educated and equipped ready for the battle of life. I would like the Minister of Finance to figure out the money lost, through this exodus, to the people of Canada. Take the cost of educating our sons and daughters who are sent into the United States when adults grown. I think that he will find that at a very low estimate the cost of educating the people who have fled from Canada and taken up their abode in the United States well nigh equal in amount to our national debt.

Our population ought to have increased by leaps and bounds. Never in the history of Canada were such large expenditures made upon public enterprises as between 1881 and 1891. According to the Year-Book the Canadian people, through the Government and private corporations spent in railway construction alone over \$400,000,000. Millions more were spent in canals and other public works. Building operations in the cities were the means of circulating tens of millions more. But in spite of all this we find that the exodus continued, and our people departed at the rate of a hundred thousand a year to help build up a foreign nation. And so we denounce the tariff of hon. gentlemen opposite, because it has checked immigration and caused a great loss of population.

#### COMMERCE NOT BEING DEVELOPED.

We denounce that policy because it has impeded commerce, or rather it has failed to develop commerce with the nations of the world. Our imports for consumption last year amounted to \$105,252,521. Outside of Great Britain and the United States, we buy very little from the nations of the world. From the United States we bought more than half of our imports, or a total of \$54,634,521. From Great Britain and her colonies, we bought \$33,808,042, or a total for these two of \$88,443,163. From all the rest of the world outside we purchased \$16,809,348. There are only four nations of the world that sold us over a million dollars worth of goods each:—Germany, from which we purchased \$4,794,159; Spanish West Indies, \$3,531,292; France, \$2,595,174, and Japan, \$1,567,558, or a total from these four of \$12,478,183; leaving a balance of \$4,331,165 to represent our total import trade with all the world outside of the countries named.

We sold, of the produce of Canada, \$102,828,351. Britain and her colonies took \$62,

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221,793. The United States took \$35,603,773. All the countries on the earth besides took \$5,202,785 of such goods as we had to sell. Now, of foreign nations, only one purchased from us over a million dollars' worth, and that is the Spanish West Indies, to whom we sold \$1,407,400. Australasia sold us, altogether, \$113,000 worth of goods, and we sold in Australasia \$414,924, made up as follows:—Manufactured goods, \$230,665; products of the forest, \$94,840; products of the fisheries, \$83,601; agricultural products, \$5,804; animals and their products, \$5. To secure this trifling trade with Australia we have subsidized a line of steamers to cost \$122,000 a year.

#### DISCRIMINATION AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN.

Sir, we denounce this tariff because it discriminates against Great Britain. Hon. gentlemen opposite deny this, but the facts are against them. The Trade and Navigation Returns prove beyond all doubt that there is an actual discrimination against British trade. Loyal people were urged to support the National Policy because it would increase our trade with Great Britain. Here are the very words of Sir Leonard Tilley, when making his first National Policy Budget speech, in 1879:

Forming a part of that great country—a country that receives our natural products without any taxation, everything we have to send her—apart from our national feelings, I think this House will not object if, in the propositions before me, the duties touch more heavily the imports from foreign countries than from our fatherland.

Sir, it has had the very opposite effect. England takes free all the goods we choose to send her, the products of our fisheries, of our forests, of our mines, and of our farms—everything free of duty. Everything that is sent to the United States is heavily taxed, more heavily taxed during the last few years than formerly. This so-called patriotic policy, you might naturally expect, would produce a vast increase in the whole volume of our export and import trade with Great Britain. Now, as a matter of fact, I find that our trade with Great Britain, exports and imports, from 1873 to 1878, amounted to \$560,000,000, an annual average, when the Liberals were in power, of \$93,500,000. Our total trade, export and import, with the United States during the same period, was \$490,000,000, in round numbers, an annual average of about 80 millions. Our trade with Great Britain exceeded our trade with the United States by \$13,500,000 a year. Then came the National Policy, and what do we find? The last fourteen years, under the National Policy, our aggregate trade with Great Britain, exports and imports, has been 1,295 millions, an annual average of \$92,500,000 a year, showing a shrinkage of one million a year. Our average aggregate trade for the last fourteen years was one

million dollars a year, less with Great Britain than it was during the five years of the Mackenzie regime. During the same fourteen years our trade with the United States was 1,290 millions, an average of \$92,140,000, almost equal to that of Great Britain, and an increase of over 12 million dollars above what it was during the Mackenzie Administration. This anti-British, unpatriotic National Policy caused a shrinkage in our trade with Great Britain, where no barriers exist against free trade, and produced an increase of trade with the United States, in spite of their heavy protection barriers.

Sir, there is another striking proof of the anti-British character of this National Policy, and it will be found in the total imports for consumption. From 1873 to 1878, under Liberal rule and a low tariff, our trade with Great Britain amounted to \$310,000,000, an average of \$52,000,000 a year. During the same period our trade with the United States aggregated \$299,000,000, or an average of about \$50,000,000 a year. During the last fourteen years our trade with Great Britain has averaged \$42,500,000, or \$9,500,000 less than our average trade during the Mackenzie Administration. Our trade with the United States averages over 51 millions, or a million a year more than it averaged during the Mackenzie Administration.

Now, Sir, our imports from England benefit her. It is no special benefit to England to send her our goods; she has the whole world to draw upon, and it is not one jot to the profit of the people of England to sell her our goods. But she makes a profit on what she sells to us, and she has a right, therefore, to expect from a patriotic policy, that it will increase her export trade with us. Yet we find that, under this policy, exports from Great Britain have diminished to the extent of \$9,500,000, and have increased from the United States, her great commercial rival. Now, let me quote further from Sir Leonard Tilley, when speaking in 1879:

In the imposition of the duties we are now about to ask the House to impose, it may be said we will receive from the imports from foreign countries a larger portion of the \$2,000,000 we require than we will receive from the mother country. I believe such will be the effect.

But such was not the effect. The amount of duty levied on goods coming from Great Britain, that is, on the whole volume of our trade of last year was 22½ per cent; the duties levied on goods imported from the United States amounted to 12½ per cent, being a discrimination in the whole volume of our trade of 10 per cent. In the Trade and Navigation Returns we find that our imports from Great Britain, of dutiable goods entered for consumption, in the year ending 30th June last, amounted to \$23,311,911, on which we collected in duties, \$7,006,678.58. In the same year we imported from the United States, of dutiable goods, to the value

of \$25,785,588, on which we collected in duty \$6,897,395.04. In other words, 30½ per cent was levied upon dutiable goods imported from Great Britain, and only 26½ per cent were levied on the dutiable goods imported from the United States, a straight discrimination of 3½ per cent, a heavier discrimination than we have had in any year before, and this occurred in the year after the hon. gentleman had revised the tariff.

#### UNFAIR TREATMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Sir, this is not treating Great Britain fairly. We sold her, the produce of Canada, \$57,913,564 worth, and purchased, of dutiable and non-dutiable goods, \$31,131,737. Besides, to balance the account, we took from her, in cash, \$26,771,827. Contrast this with our trade with the United States. We purchased there of dutiable and non-dutiable goods to the value of \$54,634,521, and sold them of our produce to the value of \$35,603,773, and paid them \$19,030,748 in cash to balance the account.

Sir, the fact of this discrimination has been pointed out in this House, year after year, by hon. gentlemen on this side, but the Government have turned a deaf ear. They revised the tariff, and the discrimination was sharper than ever. The people in England long since saw and objected to the effect of the tariff policy of hon. gentlemen opposite, as is shown in a speech delivered on the floor of the House of Commons, on 27th April, 1888, when the then Minister of Finance, now the Secretary of State, said :

When we took up this question of fostering our native industries, many parties in England attacked me in reference to it and asked : What do you mean by turning your back upon the English free trade policy and taking up the United States protective policy ?

And, Sir, it has been recognized by thinking men outside this House. Principal Grant, in an admirable paper, written by him in November, 1894, says :

We must get into the British or American system. At present we are copying the United States, and without intending it, discriminating against our best customers. Let us take the other tack now. The British system is right.

Sir, it has been recognized, as I said, by Liberals in this House, and they have sought to set it right. The hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies), in April, 1892, moved this resolution :

Inasmuch as Great Britain admits the products of Canada into her ports free of duty, this House is of the opinion that the present scale of duties exacted on goods mainly imported from Great Britain, should be reduced.

This was a practical recognition of what was due to the motherland. Sir, I care nothing for the windy declarations of loyalty which are sometimes heard from our friends opposite. I believe in it when I see its fruits in practical works. When I see these hon. gen-

tlemen discriminate against England and refuse to adopt such a resolution as was submitted by my hon. friend from Queen's (Mr. Davies), then I may be allowed to say that I am somewhat skeptical of the depth, quality and extent of their loyalty. This motion was voted down by hon. gentlemen opposite. But they proposed another resolution, a very unselfish one they thought it submitted by the hon. member for North Bruce, as follows :—

That if and when the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland admits Canadian products to the markets of the United Kingdom upon more favourable terms than it accords to the products of foreign countries, the Parliament of Canada will be prepared to accord corresponding advantages by a reduction in the duties it imposes upon British manufactured goods.

Every Conservative supported this resolution, and it was carried ; and if my memory serves me, they rose and sang " God Save the Queen."

England admits all our goods free. We will not reduce the tariff unless she goes further, and taxes the bread of her workmen imported from other lands. When she not only admits our goods free, but gives them preferential treatment, then what ? Admit her goods free ? Not a bit of it. We will be prepared to yield and submit to reducing the duties on British goods so as to place them on a par with importations from the United States. Sir, I believe it would have been well for our trade and well for our relations with the motherland had the resolution of my hon. friend from Queen's been adopted, and reductions in the duties made so as to wipe out the reproach which rests upon the people of Canada, as seen in our Trade and Navigation Returns, that we undoubtedly discriminate in our tariff against importations from the mother country.

#### DECRYING ENGLAND.

Sir, it has been lately the fashion for hon. gentlemen opposite to decry England. The hon. member for Pictou (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper), then Minister of Marine and Fisheries, made use of most remarkable language. I desire to call the attention of the House to it once again, for we should never forget the words used. Speaking of England he said :

Driven from the civilized markets of the world, steadily and every year finding their output to those markets decreasing, they spend millions on their navy, and millions on their army, to force their wares, and their goods, and their merchandise into the uncivilized markets of the world.

This fashion so set by the hon. gentleman has been followed by his friends in the House and their press outside. It is no uncommon thing to see in Conservative newspapers a column filled with loyal praise of England, and to find her described as

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"Mistress of the sea," "Mother of Heroes," "Champion of Civil and Religious Liberty," "First of Nations," and side by side a column of gross and palpable falsehood about British trade, British workingmen and British affairs, the column being headed, "Free Trade as they have it in England." I will give one statement as a sample of the whole. This assertion was made respecting Leeds: "The town of Leeds, England, has a population of 200,000, and not one workingman in the town owns the house he lives in, and this in free trade England." The actual facts are these: Leeds has a population of 400,000. More than 2,000 workingmen own their homes. The funds of workingmen in their unions, friendly societies, co-operative stores and in savings banks, amount to \$1,250,000. They have undertaken extensive business enterprises, and conduct them successfully on the co-operative plan. The Leeds Workingmen Co-operative Society own a small fleet on the canals and rivers of Yorkshire and Lancashire and engage profitably in the carrying trade. Allow me to add that this is in free trade England.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

#### After Recess.

Mr. DAWSON. Mr. Speaker, when you left the Chair at six o'clock, I was discussing some of the reckless statements which appear, from time to time, in the Conservative press respecting British trade and the condition of the British workingman. The condition of the British workman is nothing like so dark as is painted by the press of hon. gentlemen opposite. I would inform these hon. gentlemen that since Mr. Gladstone introduced the principle of eight hours as a day's labour on Government work, without any law whatever being passed, the system has been very generally adopted voluntarily in many of the largest and most important works in England and Scotland. I may inform hon. gentlemen that John Edward Ellis, M.P., managing director of extensive iron and coal mines in the Midlands of England, has voluntarily adopted the eight-hour system, and Col. Seelev, another M.P., who also manages iron works, employing 25,000 men, has followed his example. This shows that the condition of the unhappy labourer in free trade England is not so dark as some of the newspapers of hon. gentlemen opposite painted it just before the recent elections.

Why, Sir, our Canadian merchants who were in England last fall placing their orders for goods, found that they were unable to get their orders filled as rapidly as they desired. They found in almost every centre of industry in England factories working overtime, and some of them working day and night wherever practicable, and yet in spite

of all this extra effort it was impossible for the manufacturers to overtake their orders.

#### ENGLAND'S PROSPERITY.

What has free trade done for England? Mulhall declares that since the adoption of free trade, England has reduced her debt by \$900,000,000; that her population has increased 42 per cent; that the wealth of her people has increased 124 per cent; that her trade has increased 472 per cent, and her shipping has increased 588 per cent. In speaking of this great increase in wealth which has much more than doubled since the adoption of free trade, Mulhall goes on to say:

The ordinary accumulation is \$150,000,000 yearly, or about half a million daily. Does this wealth become congested among a small number of people? On the contrary the rich grow less rich and more numerous every year, and the poor become fewer in ratio of population.

One hundred and fifty millions pounds sterling, about \$750,000,000 yearly of our money; well up to two and a half million dollars for each working day, is added to the wealth of England under free trade. England's trade with foreign nations, her export and import trade, has enormously increased under free trade. It was in 1893 almost equal to that of Germany and the United States together, and they have a population three times greater than that of England. The foreign trade of France and Russia, with a population four times greater than that of England, was thirty-four million dollars less. Italy and Spain, with ten millions more people, have together a trade less than one-sixth that of England.

England is to-day the creditor general of all the protected countries in the world. Without English money the protected industries of all the nations of the earth would suffer materially. Her reserve capital supports these industries, supplies them with money and enables them to survive in the countries adopting protection.

#### HER POPULATION INCREASING, POVERTY AND CRIME DIMINISHING.

But, hon. gentlemen say, that within the last few years England is suffering more severely; that free trade is now getting in its work, and that England is rapidly falling into decay. Dire ruin and misery, they say, is spreading over the land, and her people are unemployed. Well, if that is so, we might naturally look for an increase of poverty and crime, and we would also expect to see her people fleeing from her shores. Let me inform these hon. gentlemen that during the last sixteen years, ending in 1895, the increase of the population of England almost equalled the total population of the Dominion of Canada. It increased from 34,-

622,030 in 1880 to 30,111,106 in 1895, an increase in the sixteen years of 4,511,236, or about 13 per cent.

We would expect that if the times were bad in England, that the increase in the number of paupers would exceed the percentage of increase in population at least. What are the facts? In the three years, 1880, 1881, 1882, the average number of all sorts of paupers, indoor and outdoor, in the United Kingdom was 1,001,944, while in the three years ending January, 1895, the number had fallen to 966,920, or an actual decrease of 4 per cent. Crime also decreased. In the three years 1880, 1881 and 1882, convictions in England, Scotland and Ireland averaged 15,808 per year, while in the three years ending January 1st, 1895, the average number of convictions had fallen to 12,899, a decrease of over 18 per cent. These statements are taken from the Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom for the year 1895.

If trade is so bad in England we might expect the Bankruptcy Court to reveal the fact. But on the contrary, I find the following facts set forth in the Statistical Abstract: The number of adjudicated bankrupts and the number of resolutions registered for liquidation by arrangement and for composition with creditors altogether in England and Wales, during the years 1880, 1881 and 1882 was 29,066, while in the three years, 1892, 1893 and 1894 they had fallen to 14,352, or a decrease of over 50 per cent. The amount of liabilities involved during the same period fell from £52,976,044 to £23,458,124, a decrease in the amount of liabilities involved in these failures of 55 per cent. The assets in the three years 1880, 1881 and 1882 amounted to £15,085,324, and in the three years 1892, 1893 and 1894, they amounted to £8,298,228, a decrease in the assets of only 45 per cent. The number of bankrupts decreased 50 per cent, liabilities involved decreased 55 per cent, and the assets decreased 45 per cent; the proportion of the assets to the liabilities being larger in the three last years than in the first three years of the period under discussion.

#### THE BRITISH FARMER.

This does not seem to me to prove that England is in the deplorable condition painted by hon. gentlemen opposite. But when we prove their libels respecting British trade to be false, they say: But what of agriculture, and they paint grim pictures of awful destitution among the agriculturists of England. I have no doubt that many of the English farmers are depressed. I think there is no question about it. The lower prices we obtain in the British market for agricultural products to-day, as compared with, say, twenty years ago, must have an effect upon the agriculturists of that country. But, Sir, if the English farmer cannot live on the price obtainable for his pro-

ducts in England, what is to become of the farmers of Canada who have to look to the English market in which to sell their goods. With our long winter, with our many disabilities, with the cost of the transportation of products to that great market in England, we have to compete with the English farmer, and if the British farmer is unable to live, how can the Canadian farmer live and contend with these disadvantages.

I do not think that hon. gentlemen opposite will be able to show that the small farmers—those holding a comparatively speaking, small number of acres of land in England—are in a distressed condition. Where the farmers work their own land, with the help of their sons, they are not suffering in anything like the degree the large landholders are who conduct their operations by the employment of hired labour. The agricultural distress in England is caused by the use of hired labour and by high rents.

There is at present an agitation in England for protection, in the shape of duties on agricultural produce, and hon. gentlemen opposite seem disposed to back up that agitation. What would be the effect of protection, so-called, to the distressed agriculturists of England? It would simply increase the value of land and consequently increase the rent the owner of the land would exact from the tenant who works the soil. It is the landowners and not the farmers who are at the bottom of this agitation for the protection of agriculture in England. In proof of that, I will read to the House what was said by the Right Hon. Henry Chaplin, member of Parliament, on the 27th of February, 1891. He said:

One effect of such duties (duties on produce) was undoubtedly to very materially enhance the price of land, and thus to increase its value.

The Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain is on record as saying:

The owners of property, the men who have privileges to maintain, would be glad to entrap you from the right path, by raising the cry of Fair Trade, under which they cover their demand "protected industry," and in connection with which they would tax the food of the people in order to raise the rent of the landlord.

That is the object of those who are at the back of the agitation for granting relief to the distressed agriculturists in England. The object is to raise the rent of the landlord.

#### YET PROTECTIONISTS ARE LOYAL.

Why do hon. gentlemen opposite decry the motherland? Why do they discriminate against her trade? Are they not loyal? Sir, I believe they are loyal. I believe, in spite of their abuse of England, in spite of their discrimination against her trade, that deep down in their hearts there is a senti-

ment of loyalty as fervent and as strong as that which swells the hearts of the Liberals of Canada. Should danger menace the Empire, and an enemy invade our land, I know that there is not a man on the other side of the House who would not take his place side by side with the Liberals, and manfully fight for the Empire, and manfully defend our homes. There is not one but would mingle his blood with that of the Liberals in stern defence of our country's flag and all that it implies. The flag, that emblem of our liberties which we on this side deem to be too sacred an emblem to be dragged in the mud of political strife.

## 2.—ENLARGED MARKETS—RECIPROCITY.

That, having regard to the prosperity of Canada and the United States as adjoining countries, with many mutual interests, it is desirable that there should be the most friendly relations and broad and liberal trade intercourse between them;

That the interests alike of the Dominion and of the Empire would be materially advanced by the establishing of such relations;

That the period of the old reciprocity treaty was one of marked prosperity to the British North American colonies;

That the pretext under which the Government appealed to the country in 1891 respecting negotiations for a treaty with the United States was misleading and dishonest and intended to deceive the electorate;

That no sincere effort has been made by them to obtain a treaty, but that, on the contrary, it is manifest that the present Government, controlled as they are by monopolies and combines, are not desirous of securing such a treaty;

That the first step towards obtaining the end in view, is to place a party in power who are sincerely desirous of promoting a treaty on terms honourable to both countries;

That a fair and liberal reciprocity treaty would develop the great natural resources of Canada, would enormously increase the trade and commerce between the two countries, would tend to encourage friendly relations between the two peoples, would remove many causes which have in the past provoked irritation and trouble to the governments of both countries, and would promote those kindly relations between the Empire and the republic which afford the best guarantee for peace and prosperity;

That the Liberal party is prepared to enter into negotiations with a view to obtaining such a treaty, including a well-considered list of manufactured articles, and we are satisfied that any treaty so arranged will receive the assent of Her Majesty's Government, without whose approval no treaty can be made.

Sir, the natural resources of Canada are very great, and all we lack to properly develop them are three things: Men, money, and markets. Under the National Policy, men have been driven out by tens of thousands. Money has been absorbed by a few, and I am sorry to say that some of those who have succeeded in absorbing much of the money of the people of Canada have seen fit to invest a portion, at least,

of their surplus wealth in the United States, in preference to investing it in the development of our latent resources in Canada.

Markets are required. The Chinese policy of isolation, resulting in national stagnation, must be set aside. Our vast mineral wealth is useless to us for lack of men and money, and markets, to develop it. Our natural wealth, until developed, is as useless to us as a bag of gold would be to a shipwrecked mariner on a desert island.

## THE HOME MARKET.

These hon. gentleman say that we need not worry, because we have a vast home market, not perhaps for minerals, but at least for agricultural products. I will give them a few figures in regard to the home market. A home market for agricultural products? Let me tell hon. gentlemen that, according to census bulletin No. 18, which they can consult; 735,207 men are engaged in agriculture in Canada; 320,001 people altogether are engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. Sir, we had industries before the National Policy was thought of, but after eighteen years of it, let us see what success the census bulletins reveal. We have 320,001 operatives in our manufacturing industries. From this number, I shall have to ask permission to count off those whom the National Policy in no way benefits. Carpenters, coopers, joiners, boat-builders, and saw-mill men, number 67,000. Brick-makers, masons, painters and plasterers, number 26,000. Machinists and blacksmiths number 28,000. Milliners and dressmakers, shoemakers, harnessmakers, tailors and tanners number 70,000. Bakers, butchers, millers, butter and cheese makers, number 20,000. Bookbinders and printers number 9,000. These who are in no way indebted to the National Policy, directly or indirectly, number 220,000 of our industrial population, leaving 100,000 who are in some degree benefited by protection. These 100,000 include all who work in factories, refineries, breweries and distilleries, and some thousands who are put down in the tables as "others." We will suppose that not a soul worked in these industries before, and that the National Policy could claim the whole of them. The National Policy home market, then, would be limited to 100,000 people, and we have 735,000 farmers to supply them. We have the products of seven farms to supply one operative.

Sir, there are not 100,000 operatives to-day, directly or indirectly, benefited by protection. I will give you a list of the establishments that may be more or less benefited by protection, and the number of persons, male and female, employed in them. If there are others, let us have their names. They are as follows:—



|                                             |       |
|---------------------------------------------|-------|
| Agricultural implements .....               | 3,856 |
| Cotton operatives .....                     | 6,053 |
| Woollen operatives .....                    | 4,241 |
| Mill and factory operatives (textile) ..... | 3,876 |
| Iron and steel workers .....                | 2,804 |
| Machinists .....                            | 9,572 |
| Moulders .....                              | 4,070 |
| Tool and cutlery makers .....               | 964   |
| Wire workers .....                          | 283   |
| Sugar refineries .....                      | 1,700 |
| Rope and cordage operatives .....           | 412   |
| Oil well employees .....                    | 344   |
| Starch works employees .....                | 62    |
| "Manufacturers and officials" .....         | 6,189 |

Total ..... 44,446

If hon. gentlemen can add to these, I wish they would; but take it at 100,000, and admit the absurd contention that not one of these could have received employment in this country but for the National Policy, and that is the utmost extent that can be claimed for the National Policy home market—100,000 for 735,000 farmers to supply.

#### CAUSE OF DISSOLUTION IN 1891.

Well, we would suppose from the speeches of hon. gentlemen opposite, from the speech of the hon. gentleman who last sat down, (Mr. Smith, Ontario), that they never advocated or desired reciprocity with the United States in any shape, manner, or form. Why, the last Parliament was prematurely dissolved and an election held to secure the people's endorsement of the Government's stand in favour of reciprocity. Clearly during the session of 1890, the Government had no idea of a general election before 1892. They refused in that year to revise the list of voters, and stated that it was not their intention to have general elections before the natural death of Parliament in the year 1892. Here are the words of the then Secretary of State (Hon. Mr. Chapleau):

But is there no other reason why that revision should not take place? We have not yet reached the end of this Parliament. According to law this Parliament will cease in the beginning of 1892. If in July, 1891, the census shows that the representation must be changed, it will become necessary to have new elections soon after the census, and those elections should take place at the beginning of 1892, by the natural death of this Parliament according to the constitution. There is no reason to doubt that a revision beginning in 1891 could be satisfactorily made, and would be ready for the eventuality of elections in 1892.

The lists were not revised, but the election was held on the 5th March, 1891. What reason was given for this change in the plan of the Government? What reason did they give for deciding to hold the elections a year before the date fixed by the constitution? Immediately after dissolution, the following announcement was published by authority in the Government press:

It will naturally be asked what are the reasons which have induced the Government to appeal to the country at the present time. It is understood that the Dominion Government have, through Her Majesty's Government, made certain proposals to the United States for negotiations look-

ing to the extension of her commerce with that country. The proposals have been submitted to the President for his consideration and the Canadian Government is of the opinion that if the negotiations are to result in a treaty, which must be ratified by the Parliament of Canada, it is expedient that the Government should be able to deal with a Parliament fresh from the people rather than with a moribund House.

Sir, they were so red hot for reciprocity that they wanted a brand new Parliament elected at once, so that this golden opportunity would not be let slip. And during the campaign, at Toronto, Sir John Macdonald put himself on record as follows:—

The Government are appealing to the people to grant them authority to send a delegate to Washington to negotiate trade relations with the United States.

On the same day at the same meeting, Sir John Thompson said:

The Government would endeavour to obtain reciprocity with the United States along the line of the reciprocity treaty which prevailed from 1854 to 1856.

This further statement, dictated by the head of the Government, was published with regard to the alleged negotiations for reciprocity:

Moreover, these propositions were invited and suggested by the Washington authorities. Commissioners from Canada and Great Britain will start for Washington on 4th March, the date of the opening of the new Congress. The result of the Canadian elections will be known on the 6th March, the day the commissioners will reach Washington. In order that this commission may have no uncertain sound the Government has decided to appeal to the people and ask for judgment on these proposals to the Washington authorities.

On these lines, Sir, the elections were run, that is they were so run wherever reciprocity was found to be a winning card. Bills were published, calling meetings in the interests of the Government candidate in Carleton, N.B., headed:

Vote for Vince and Reciprocity.

If you want reciprocity, support the Government.

The Government have been approached by the Washington authorities; they are in a position to get this boon for the farmers of Canada, and if you desire it you must support them. This was the language with which hon. gentlemen opposite, all through the country, approached the agricultural constituencies. Unfortunately, however, it turned out that the United States Government had not invited a conference, had made no overtures whatever to the Government here; and Mr. Blaine found it necessary to write Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador at Washington, under date of 1st April, 1891:

I deem it important, since the matter has been for some weeks open to public remark, to have it settled that the conference was not initiated by me, but, on the contrary, that the private arrangement of which I spoke was but a modification of your proposal, and in no sense an

original suggestion from the government of the United States.

Shortly after the elections, the hon. Secretary of State (Sir Charles Tupper), then High Commissioner of Canada, who had visited Washington, wrote to Sir John Macdonald, after his return, as follows:—

I told Mr. Blaine that I wished at the outset to recognize the correctness of his statement contained in his letter to Sir Julian Pauncefote, which I had seen, in reference to the initiation of the negotiations regarding reciprocity and trade relations between the two countries.

#### THE WASHINGTON NEGOTIATIONS.

Well, our delegates went there. Sir John Thompson, Sir Mackenzie Bowell and the Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) conferred with the Hon. Jas. G. Blaine respecting trade relations between Canada and the United States. Let me give you a quotation from a memo. prepared by Mr. Blaine and sent to the President of the United States, giving a summary of what occurred at that conference. He said:

At this conference the commissioners stated they were authorized by the Canadian Government to propose the renewal of the reciprocity treaty of 1854, with such modifications and extensions as the altered circumstances of both countries and their respective interests might seem to require. In answer to an inquiry the commissioners stated that the modifications or extensions contemplated in the schedule of articles should be confined to natural products and should not embrace manufactured articles.

The commissioners were informed that the government of the United States would not be prepared to renew the treaty of 1854, nor to agree upon any commercial reciprocity which should be confined to natural products alone.

Well, these delegates from the Dominion Government went to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity in natural products and failed. Now hon. gentlemen opposite assure us that a treaty would ruin us. The hon. member for South Ontario (Mr. Smith) declared that such a treaty would do our farmers no good because of the similarity of the products, and that the politician who advocated such a policy was deliberately deluding the public. I ask the hon. member for South Ontario what he has to say to these negotiators, the First Minister (Sir Mackenzie Bowell) and the Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster), who went to Washington to try and obtain a renewal of the reciprocity treaty of 1854? Reciprocity in barley, wheat, fish, lumber, cattle, butter, cheese and all other natural products. Does he say that these hon. gentlemen were deliberately deluding the agriculturists of Canada? If he makes that charge against them, I must leave him to their tender mercies.

The hon. member for North Grey (Mr. Masson) said, in this debate, that he feared a deluge of American farm products, if the duties were removed. Well, Sir, when the market in the United States for our barley was lost to us, that hon. gentleman sturdily advocated

the cultivation of two-rowed barley for the English market. Some of our farmers did attempt to cultivate two-rowed barley, to their sorrow, loss and keen regret. These hon. gentlemen say that American products American farm truck, American hogs and cattle would displace ours in the Canadian market, in the event of a reciprocity treaty being made. These hon. gentlemen forget that the farmers of Canada beat all the world at the World's Fair in the very heart of the United States. In 1891 the Government thought that our farmers had nothing to fear. Having since then seen Canada's great exhibit at that World's Fair, I wonder that there is any member of this House who doubts the ability of the Canadian farmer to hold his own in competition with the farmers of any country in the world, and certainly with those of the United States. Let them open their markets to us, with their teeming millions in the great cities almost at our doors—in Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Boston, New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia and Washington—and let us see what share we shall have in competition for these markets with the farmers of the United States.

#### VALUE OF AMERICAN MARKET.

Hon. gentlemen opposite failed to get a treaty, and now they say the American market is not of much account, anyhow. Well, Sir, if the American market is of no account to the Canadian farmer, the tariff legislation of the United States cannot have affected our exports to it. Let us see. In 1890, the United States tariff was much lower than it was a couple of years later, after the adoption of the McKinley Bill. Let me read you a table, showing the effect upon our exports to the United States in a few leading articles of farm products, of the increased duties under the McKinley Bill:

#### COMPARISON OF EXPORT OF FARM PRODUCTS, 1890 AND 1893.

| Name of Articles. | 1890.      | 1893.     |
|-------------------|------------|-----------|
| Horses .....      | 1,887,895  | 1,123,339 |
| Cattle .....      | 104,623    | 11,032    |
| Poultry .....     | 105,612    | 52,114    |
| Eggs .....        | 1,793,104  | 324,355   |
| Wool .....        | 235,436    | 228,030   |
| Flax .....        | 175,563    | 124,082   |
| Barley .....      | 4,582,562  | 638,271   |
| Split peas .....  | 74,215     | 4,214     |
| Hay .....         | 922,797    | 854,958   |
| Malt .....        | 149,310    | 19        |
| Potatoes .....    | 308,915    | 259,176   |
| Rye .....         | 113,320    | 3,302     |
|                   | 10,453,352 | 3,624,892 |

Of these twelve leading articles, our shipments fell from three to one. Our exports of cattle, poultry, malt and rye were practically wiped out. Our exports of eggs fell to one-sixth of what they had been. Of barley we exported only one bushel where formerly

we exported seven. They simply raised the barriers against us, and immediately we lost two-thirds of our trade. But, in spite of these barriers against us, a large amount of our farm produce continued to find its way into that market. And that, I think, conclusively proves the value of that market to us?

Gentlemen opposite tell us, that substitutes can be found for this market elsewhere, perhaps on the coast of Africa, perhaps in Java, perhaps in Iceland or in Terra del Fuego—anywhere except in the great cities of the country right at our door. I have said that the McKinley Bill was meant to be prohibitory. And, when I say that our exports to the United States, in many lines, under the McKinley Bill, largely exceeded our exports to all the world besides, it must surely prove to hon. gentlemen that that market is of some importance to us. Let me give you a list of articles of export, the produce of Canada, showing what amount of each was sent to the United States, and what to all other countries of the world besides:

| Articles or classification of exports the produce of Canada. | 1893.<br>United States. | 1893.<br>All other Countries. |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Products of the mine ....                                    | \$ 4,756,280            | \$ 573,610                    |
| Products of the forest ..                                    | 13,859,960              | 12,499,950                    |
| Fresh water fish and salt water fish, fresh .....            | 1,267,322               | 4,642                         |
| Horses .....                                                 | 1,123,339               | 337,818                       |
| Swine .....                                                  | 130,093                 | 15,997                        |
| Sheep .....                                                  | 1,088,814               | 159,041                       |
| Poultry .....                                                | 52,114                  | 9,013                         |
| Bones .....                                                  | 58,444                  | 10,282                        |
| Hides .....                                                  | 385,246                 | 7,122                         |
| Sheep pelts .....                                            | 66,939                  | 16                            |
| Wool .....                                                   | 228,030                 | 281                           |
| Flax .....                                                   | 124,082                 |                               |
| Berries .....                                                | 96,104                  | 115                           |
| Fruit, N.E.S. ....                                           | 24,646                  | 1,114                         |
| Barley .....                                                 | 638,271                 | 306,084                       |
| Beans .....                                                  | 351,058                 | 4,624                         |
| Hay .....                                                    | 854,958                 | 597,914                       |
| Straw .....                                                  | 25,117                  | 932                           |
| Maple sugar .....                                            | 48,174                  | 1,477                         |
| Trees, shrubs and plants.                                    | 11,969                  | 232                           |
| Potatoes .....                                               | 259,176                 | 162,782                       |
| Vegetables .....                                             | 105,836                 | 10,404                        |
| Other articles .....                                         | 27,096                  | 1,577                         |
| Fertilizers .....                                            | 7,706                   |                               |
| Furs (dressed) .....                                         | 6,664                   | 2,103                         |
| Grindstones .....                                            | 24,754                  | 943                           |
| Gypsum .....                                                 | 27,091                  | 2,366                         |
| Household effects .....                                      | 1,246,085               | 37,081                        |
| Lime .....                                                   | 97,898                  | 8,207                         |
| Barrels .....                                                | 10,631                  | 6,297                         |
| Household furniture .....                                    | 123,872                 | 50,749                        |
| Wood pulp .....                                              | 424,253                 | 1,640                         |
| Other manufactures .....                                     | 249,752                 | 117,727                       |
| Bullion .....                                                | 309,459                 |                               |
|                                                              | \$28,132,233            | \$14,932,145                  |

Well, Sir, the McKinley tariff is no more. How soon it will be reimposed, no one knows. The Wilson Bill, even as amended,

gives some relief, but the burden is still very great.

#### THE AUSTRALIAN MARKET.

Now, for a moment let us examine the relative value of the United States and the Australian markets. In spite of tariff restrictions, we sold natural products to the United States last year to the value of \$32,500,000, consisting of the following products: Of the mines, \$6,271,397; of the fisheries, \$3,025,171; of the forest, \$12,482,969; of the farm, \$7,423,171; altogether, of natural products sent into the United States, \$32,502,707. Now, our exports of natural products to Australia were as follows:—Products of the mine, nothing; products of the fisheries, \$83,610; products of the forest, \$94,840; agricultural products, \$5,804; animals and their products, \$5; altogether, \$184,250 worth of natural products found their way to the Australian market. Sir, I have no desire to belittle the Australian market. What we desire is an outlet for our natural products; but I think that a subsidy of \$122,000 a year is rather too high a price to pay for a market consuming only \$184,000 worth of such products. Why, Sir, we have to-day yards full of young beef cattle, but no market. We are barred out from the United States by their quarantine regulations. We have cheese and butter for sale by the million pounds. Of animals and their products, of all sorts, the Australian market took from us, last year, just \$5 worth. Why, Sir, if next year our friends opposite are able to induce the Australians to purchase from us \$10 worth of animals and their products, you will hear orators all over this country declaring that our trade with Australia in this line has increased 100 per cent. If they can induce the Australians to purchase from us \$25 worth of animals or their products, we shall hear hon. gentlemen opposite proclaiming the startling fact that our trade with Australia in animals and their products has increased 500 per cent. And this would be a triumph for the National Policy, this would be the justification for the enormous sum which we pay to develop that market. Why, Sir, when the Australian delegates were here, they told us that there were millions of sheep, they had vast quantities of cattle; that they could send ship-loads of mutton, countless tons of beef, an illimitable number of pounds of butter and cheese to our Canadian market. Now, let me say that my opinion is that the farmers of Canada do not object to Australian beef, or Australian mutton, or Australian butter, or Australian cheese, coming here in the natural course of trade, but what they object to is being compelled to pay a large subsidy to a steamship line as an inducement to these people to send these cheap products here. While being compelled, under the tariff, to pay exorbitant prices for the commodities which they use in their

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are, by high taxation for the benefit of combines, they object to being bled to pay this subsidy to a steamship line to induce Australians to drop in our market their cheaply-produced mutton and their bounty-fed butter and cheese. In spite of restrictions, the United States bought of us last year 180 times more of our natural products than Australia, and 1,280 times more of our farm products than we sold in Australia.

#### NATURAL BARRIERS OVERCOME—TARIFF BARRIERS MAINTAINED.

I believe, Sir, that an honest effort should be made by this Government to procure a treaty with the United States, and I believe if that effort were made, a treaty could be negotiated which would greatly extend our trade. The people of Canada desire to trade as freely as possible with the United States. We have been doing, and are doing, all that men can do to overcome the natural barriers that exist between these two countries. Why, Sir, our capitalists have built seven bridges across the rivers that flow between us—the Victoria, the Lachine, and the Canada Atlantic over the St. Lawrence; the Suspension, the Cantilever and the International over the Niagara; and the

Canadian Pacific Railway over the Sault Ste. Marie. They propose to build five more bridges, one at Montreal, one near Brockville, one at Kingston, one at Niagara, and another at Windsor, all for the purpose of overcoming these natural barriers. They have bored a tunnel under the St. Clair River, and they propose to bore another to accommodate the traffic and passengers going to and fro between these two countries.

Why all these efforts, if we are not to trade with the United States? In years to come, people will marvel when they read of men spending millions of dollars to overcome the natural barriers to trade, and then spending their energies in advocating a war of tariffs whose sole possible object is to prevent trade.

Well, Sir, Canada is interested in many reciprocity treaties now. Unfortunately, many of the countries in whose trade she is interested, are so remote that the treaty is of very slight benefit to us. Let me give you a list of such treaties, containing the names of the countries with which Great Britain has reciprocal treaties of commerce, in which Canada is interested, with the date of the treaty, and the value of Canadian natural products exported to each country in the year 1894-95:

NAMES of countries with which Great Britain has reciprocal treaties of commerce in which Canada is interested, with date of treaty and value of Canadian natural products exported to each country in 1894-95.

| Date of Treaty.    | Name of Country.       | Animals and Farm Products. | Products of Mine, Fisheries, and Forests. | Total Natural Products. |
|--------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
|                    |                        | \$                         | \$                                        | \$                      |
| 1825               | Argentina              | 75                         | 445,616                                   | 445,691                 |
| 1876               | Austria-Hungary        | 204,267                    | 21,674                                    | 225,941                 |
| 1862               | Belgium                |                            | 95,960                                    | 95,960                  |
| 1840               | Bolivia                |                            | 9,788                                     | 11,048                  |
| 1854               | Chili                  | 1,258                      |                                           |                         |
| 1866               | Columbia               |                            |                                           |                         |
| 1883               | Corea                  |                            |                                           |                         |
| 1849               | Costa Rica             | 5,246                      | 9,724                                     | 14,970                  |
| 1861               | Denmark                | 923                        |                                           | 923                     |
| 1860               | Saint Domingo          | 57,823                     | 241,305                                   | 299,128                 |
|                    | France                 | 338,045                    | 35,976                                    | 374,021                 |
| 1865               | Germany                | 180                        | 23,394                                    | 28,574                  |
|                    | Hawaii                 |                            |                                           |                         |
| 1845               | Liberia                |                            |                                           |                         |
| 1865               | Madagascar             |                            |                                           |                         |
| 1856               | Morocco                |                            |                                           |                         |
| 1891               | Muscat                 |                            |                                           |                         |
| 1841               | Persia                 |                            | 58,781                                    | 58,781                  |
|                    | Portugal               |                            |                                           |                         |
| 1859               | Russia                 |                            |                                           |                         |
| 1851               | Sandwich Islands       |                            |                                           |                         |
| 1885               | Siam                   |                            |                                           |                         |
| 1884               | South African Republic |                            |                                           |                         |
| 1892               | Spain                  | 1,127                      | 32,863                                    | 33,990                  |
| 1826               | Sweden and Norway      | 1,136                      | 2,067                                     | 3,203                   |
| 1855               | Switzerland            |                            |                                           |                         |
| 1875               | Tunis                  |                            | 44,455                                    | 44,455                  |
| 1886               | Uruguay                |                            |                                           |                         |
| 1826               | Venezuela              |                            |                                           |                         |
| 29 Countries—Total |                        | 610,080                    | 1,321,603                                 | 1,631,683               |

Sixteen purchase not a dollar's worth of our natural products. Sir, these countries are all thousands of miles away, too far to be of any benefit to us. New York city alone would absorb more of our farm products in a week than the whole of these countries absorbed last year. British statesmanship has been able to secure reciprocity treaties with Russia, Germany, France, Spain, Venezuela, with every one of the other twenty-nine countries I have read; but our statesmen sit here and weakly declare that it is beyond their ability to negotiate a treaty with our cousins in the United States. Let them give way to men who can, to men of courage and faith in Canada, men who will not hide affrighted behind their wretched tariff wall, fearing an inundation of cheap goods, men who believe that Canadians are qualified to try conclusions with any people outside of this Dominion, men who know that our Canadian people can hold their own in a fair field without favour with our American rivals.

There are other reciprocity treaties which have been negotiated by Great Britain, namely, treaties with Egypt, Ecuador, Greece, Italy, Mexico, Montenegro, Paraguay, Roumania, Salvador, Serbia and Zanzibar. In these treaties we have no interest whatever. To those countries we sold of the products of the forest and fisheries and manufactures the value of \$99,020, but not a dollar of farm products last year. Sir, there are some timid souls who fear a trade treaty in any shape or form. Hon. gentlemen opposite seem to think such a treaty, in some unaccountable way would menace your liberties, and they are afraid to enter into reciprocal treaties with any country in the world. Such stick in the mud patriots are out of place in this age of progress. England is not afraid, that little tiny nation ventures into every sea, and it has negotiated 40 treaties with foreign nations alien in tongue and creed. Although they have those treaties no one in England deems for a moment that they are a menace to Britain, that there is any menace to her or her institutions lurking in those treaties.

"The incapables," as they call each other, who have so long usurped the place of statesmen on the treasury benches here, knowing their inability to negotiate a treaty with the United States, think to club that country into granting a treaty. They determined on "a reciprocity of tariffs" with our neighbours with the absurd belief that if they waged a tariff war with a nation of 65,000,000, that would tend to procure for this country eventually reciprocity of trade. To pursue this policy of endeavouring to force them into granting us a treaty is the only means that occurs to them of ensuring ultimately a trade treaty with the United States.

Hon. gentlemen opposite say that it is necessary to maintain our high tariff in or-

der that we shall have some vantage ground from which to negotiate a treaty. They forget that England, a free trade country, has been successful in negotiating 40 treaties, although she gives absolute free trade. It is anything for an excuse to continue protection.

#### A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY MISSED.

There was one golden opportunity missed not long since by the Government of the day, the chance of a lifetime was allowed by them to slip by and be lost by their apathy, or perhaps by the incapacity of their Administration. The Wilson Bill passed the House of Representatives on 1st February, 1894, and it provided that mica, iron ore, bituminous coal and coke should be free. There was no help given to the advocates of the Wilson Bill, no encouragement to help the Bill on its way through the Senate. Nothing was done by our administrators; they sat idly here and allowed the bill to be amended in the Senate, as follows:—

A tax of 20 per cent was put on mica; a tax of 15 per cent was put on coke, and bituminous coal and iron ore were taxed 40 per cent per ton.

Sir, the Wilson Bill provided for a duty of 10 cents a bushel on potatoes and 25 per cent on barley. But as amended this Bill raised the duty on potatoes to 15 cents a bushel, and on barley to 30 per cent. The following were free under the Wilson Bill, as originally drafted, and as it passed the House of Representatives: Beef, mutton, pork, hams, bacon, lard, cheese, eggs, apples (green and dried). At present we have 3 cents a dozen duty on eggs, 1 cent a pound on lard, 4 cents a pound on cheese, and 20 per cent on the other articles I have named. Sir, if this Government had secured for us the American market for even these articles, I believe that an immense trade would have resulted. In the case of mica, \$1 is taken out by the American tax collector from every \$5 worth sent to the United States. We have a vast quantity of mica in different parts of this country seeking a market and finding none, or not a sufficient market in Canada; the natural market has been found in the United States, and it is forced now to cross that tariff barrier, and to pay for the privilege \$1 out of every \$5 worth sent.

#### IRON ORE.

For iron ore the United States is our natural market. Even if we had all the smelting and iron works that were prophesied by hon. gentlemen opposite, we would not be able to consume one tithe of the ore we have ready to offer for sale in the province of Ontario alone. I can remember when the vast deposits of iron ore in the county which I have the honour to represent were being work-

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ed, giving employment to hundreds of men in and around the pits. Prospectors were tramping all over that county finding large deposits, with a view to their future development. We were just on the eve of a great mineral development there. Railways were projected, and other works in connection with this industry of mining undertaken, but then the Americans put on a duty of 75 cents a ton, and that simply wiped us out. The mines shut down, and have not since re-opened. In 1894 the Wilson Bill restored ore to the free list, and if our statesmen had only succeeded in keeping it there, what a development there would have been in the mining industries in Ontario. The Bill, as amended, puts 40 cents a ton on iron ore, and we have no certainty whatever that that duty will not be increased to 75 cents once more.

#### COAL.

It was the object of Mr. Wilson to help the manufacturers in the eastern portion of the United States, and he put bituminous coal on the free list to enable them to import it from the province of Nova Scotia. There is an enormous consumption of coal on the eastern coast of the United States, and had Mr. Wilson succeeded in working his Bill through both Houses of Congress it would have resulted in an enormous increase of trade for the coal miners of Nova Scotia, and the output of the mines there would have increased four-fold. What effort was made by hon. gentlemen opposite to assist Mr. Wilson in this Bill; what offer did they make to the American government as an inducement to admit our coal free of duty into the United States? Sir, they sat here idle and allowed this opportunity to slip by. To-day 40 cents per ton is the tax on our coal going into the United States, and it may at any moment be increased to 75 cents. They made no effort in the matter.

#### FARM PRODUCTS.

They allowed Wilson's proposal of 10 cents a bushel on potatoes to be increased to 15 cents; only 5 cents of an increase, but this means a tax to be paid by the farmers of Canada of from \$10 to \$15 per acre on the crop which they grow, destined for the American market. Beef, mutton, pork, hams, bacon, lard, apples, all might have had free entry into the United States. It was so proposed by Mr. Wilson. What effort did this Government make to help him to get that Bill through the Senate? As a result of their inactivity, as a result of their apathy, there is to-day a tax of 20 per cent on these articles. If hon. gentlemen opposite say that we can sell none of those commodities in the American market, my answer is: let these markets be open and let us try. There is no market in the world more particular about its food

supply, and none more dainty as to quality than the market which we find in the great cities of the United States, where the farmers in the western part of Ontario have at their doors a population nearly equal to that of the cities of England.

Sir, I believe that the products raised upon our farms would admirably suit the American market. The flavours of our Canadian meats is so well known that they are recognized fully in the English market, and according to the observations of hon. gentlemen opposite—and I believe in this they assert the truth—to-day our hams and bacon are rapidly displacing the products of other countries in the British market. If they are of such exquisite flavour as to suit this market, they will also suit the American market, and I believe their quality will ensure a large demand and consumption there.

Eggs are taxed 3 cents a dozen going into the United States. We know what that means. We know that in 1890, when eggs were on the free list, we sent to the United States more than \$1,750,000 worth. Cheese is now taxed 4 cents a pound. Hon. gentlemen opposite declare that we would have no market whatever in the United States for cheese. In that I differ, and differ profoundly, from these hon. gentlemen. The exhibit made at the World's Fair proved the superiority of the Canadian cheese, in flavour and in make, over any thing produced in the United States. The Americans are as fond of good cheese as are Englishmen, and the known quality of Canadian cheese would ensure a large consumption for it in their country if their markets were available to us.

Mr. Wilson desired to put these articles on the free list without any condition whatever. But the Government sat here quietly and planned a subsidy for an Australian line to enable us to send \$5,800 worth of our farm products to that country; less than a small corner grocery would handle in a month.

#### AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

Sir, the Wilson Bill proposed to admit free of duty ploughs, harrows, harvesters, reapers, agricultural drills and planters, mowers, horse rakes, cultivators and threshing machines. The new tariff as finally passed put these articles on the free list, but provides:

That all articles mentioned in this paragraph if imported from a country which places an import duty on like articles imported from the United States, shall be subject to the duties existing prior to the passage of this Act.

Thus the McKinley tariff on these articles was allowed to remain. Our manufacturers, given duty free their raw material, their iron and steel, would and could command a large share of this market. We have—contravening the statements of hon. gentlemen opposite—the evidence of such practical



manufacturers as Mr. F. T. Frost, of Smith's Falls, and Mr. F. T. Lavole, both manufacturers of agricultural implements, both anxious to try conclusions with the Americans in their own market. Our manufacturers are not cowards, nor are they all by any means corrupt. Many of them have pluck enough to pit their energy, their brains and their skill against the Americans. They want fair play, a fair field and no favour.

#### FRIENDLY RELATIONS DESIRED.

Sir, we believe that a liberal trade intercourse would promote these friendly relations between the Empire and the Republic which affords the best guarantee for peace. Now, Sir, it is my opinion that were it not for her colonies, England need never become involved in war. Her possessions in Africa adjoin those of France and Germany, and if she is ever involved in war with either of these nations, it will be on account of some dispute respecting these possessions. With Russia she need never have a dispute except with reference to questions affecting India. With the United States war would be absurd except in defence of her first-born colony, Canada. Lying side by side as we do, there are many opportunities for mischief-makers to stir up strife between these two countries—strife which might culminate in that most appalling of all disasters, a war between Great Britain and the United States. Sir, I believe it to be the most solemn duty of every man in Canada to do his utmost to remove every possible cause of friction or irritation between these two countries. It is his duty to cultivate the most friendly relations, and I believe that a war of tariffs is the last possible way of promoting peace between us. Sir, I firmly believe that a fair and liberal reciprocity arrangement between Canada and the United States would tend more than anything else to cement these friendly relations that it is our duty to encourage. Sir, I believe it to be the very essence of loyalty for us to advocate such a treaty, and it seems to me it ought not to require any very high degree of statesmanship to procure it. Sir, if we do our part, the day may not be so distant when the dream of men who know England to be something more than a mere nation of traders will be realized, and the great republic will stand side by side with Great Britain to advance the civilization of the world. A great statesman he will be who will bring about an alliance between these two great Anglo-Saxon nations—not a political union, for that is not desirable, but an alliance born of a treaty of peace. The Right Hon. A. J. Balfour spoke wisely, at Bristol, recently, when he said:

He felt that England and the United States should work together, each in its own sphere, to promote and extend the Anglo-Saxon ideas of liberty. If, he declared, Great Britain was in alliance with the United States, she could fulfil

the duties Providence had entrusted to her, and need not fear a foreign foe or international divisions.

And what more natural than that they should be friends and allies, each working out her own destiny in her own way, but joining together as promoters of the peace of the world? English statesmen are not alone in desiring this alliance. Everywhere in the United States we can find earnest men who think the time has come to bury the hatchet and bring about a permanent treaty of peace between these countries. The wish of many an earnest American heart is expressed by one of their poets. They wish to see the flag of England and the stars and stripes—the Old Glory flag, so dear to all Americans—side by side for the progress of the nations and the liberty of mankind. These words of one of their poets find an echo in British hearts:

Where is the flag of England?  
It waves the throne above,  
Where a woman reigns by the grace of God  
And a people's boundless love;  
Of all the rulers earth now owns,  
However the world may brag,  
Not one so calm and so true is seen  
As the woman, the mother, the gracious Queen  
Enrobed by England's flag.

Where is the flag of England?  
It floats on every sea,  
Borne by the hands of the bravest men  
And waving o'er the free;  
It leads the way to the battlefield,  
And the armies never lag,  
For somehow or other they seem to know  
England has conquered every foe,  
Led on by that wondrous flag.

Where is the flag of England?  
Not yet where yet 'twill be,  
Conjoined with "old glory" grand,  
The emblem of the free;  
The Stars and Stripes, the Union Jack  
These two shall be unfurled  
For progress, liberty and right,  
And England's fame, Columbia's might,  
Shall help and bless the world.

#### 3.—PURITY OF ADMINISTRATION—CONDEMN CORRUPTION.

That the convention deplores the gross corruption in the management and expenditure of public moneys which for years past has existed under the rule of the Conservative party, and the revelations of which by the different parliamentary committees of inquiry have brought disgrace upon the fair name of Canada.

The Government which profited politically by these expenditures of public moneys of which the people have been defrauded, and which, nevertheless, have never punished the guilty parties, must be held responsible for the wrongdoing. We arraign the Government for retaining in office a Minister of the Crown, proved to have accepted very large contributions of money for election purposes from the funds of a railway company, which, while paying the political contributions to him, a member of the Government, with one hand, was receiving Government subsidies with the other.

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The conduct of the Minister and the approval of his colleagues after the proof became known to them are calculated to degrade Canada in the estimation of the world and deserve the severe condemnation of the people.

Well, Sir, I would not torture the feelings of hon. gentlemen opposite by any extended allusion to their delinquencies of the past, if it were not that they have promised to launch into a very large expenditure. The Order paper to-day contains a notice that the Minister of Finance will ask the House to sanction a vote of \$3,000,000 for important works of defence. Well, Sir, I do not believe it would be safe to entrust this expenditure in their hands. Circumstances might be too strong for them. There are too many contractors in the country to whom they are under obligations of different kinds. These men know too much, and have the hon. gentlemen opposite in their power. I think it would be better for them to step down and out before they undertake this large expenditure. They dare not offend these contractors, who know so much of the inner workings of their party. These men must be kept quiet at all hazards. They might tell what they know, and bring disaster to the party from which it would never recover in the teeth of a general election. Sir, it is our duty to save hon. gentlemen from their friends, by relieving them of power and giving them a rest in the cool shades of opposition, so that they may free themselves from their taskmasters, the contractors of this country.

#### QUEBEC HARBOUR WORKS SCANDALS.

Sir, those of us who sat here through the session of 1891, inquiring into the Government expenditure on public works, know perfectly well the truth of the first paragraph in this plank No. 3 of the Liberal platform. We remember well the investigation into the Quebec Harbour works, when it was shown that Larkin, Connolly & Co. bagged a profit on those works of \$953,975. It was proven that Robert H. McGreevy was given an interest in the profits of this concern, although he did not put a dollar into the capital. It was proven that he was given that interest simply for the purpose of securing the interest of his brother, then and now the member for Quebec West, and of securing, through him, the interest and influence of the then Minister of Public Works. Well, Sir, although he did not put a dollar into the capital of the firm, it was shown that Robert H. McGreevy drew, from the profits of that work, \$187,800 as his share. It was proven that this firm contributed to the repulse fund of the party \$170,447, and that this money was used in the elections of 1882, 1887 and 1891. Sir, the hon. member for Quebec West (Mr. McGreevy) was treasurer of the party funds. Through him the money was paid out to the candidates and to their election agents to be spent by them in the

interest of Government candidates in the Quebec district. The Conservative managers relied largely on the contributions of Larkin, Connolly & Co., of which firm Mr. Murphy was a member. Mr. Valin, once a member of Parliament, gave this evidence before the Committee on Privileges and Elections:

I applied again to Mr. McGreevy and to Mr. Murphy. Mr. Murphy told me: "We have placed all that is necessary in Mr. McGreevy's hands and we have advised him to help you especially; apply to him and you will get some." Then, having applied to Mr. McGreevy, he said to me, the elections in the county of Quebec are costing heavily. The Ministers are costing us very heavily and I have no more money to give you. Caron is always after me and I cannot satisfy him with money. We have Sir Hector at Three Rivers, and besides, other counties.

The official list of expenditure for party purposes in 1887 was published and showed that \$112,700 was drawn out and paid on the written order of the hon. Postmaster General (Sir Adolphe Caron) and the hon. member for Three Rivers (Sir Hector Langevin). They had control of this fund, and they distributed it according to a plan carefully prepared before the elections began. It was clearly proven in the courts that Larkin, Connolly & Co. had paid \$170,000 to purchase the favour of the Government and ensure the acceptance of their contract. The hon. Ministers claim that the Government ought not to be held accountable because they were not personally interested in the money, because they only received it from these contractors to spend in the interests of the party. Sir, this outrage against popular government is offered by these hon. gentlemen as an excuse for their conduct. How dull their moral perception must be when they consider this as an excuse for their course. They say: We did not spend it on ourselves, but on our friends to ensure their election. And they offer this as an excuse for their conduct. They used the money to tempt men, made poor by their bungling administration, to sell the birth-right our fathers died to win—the right to vote, the right of self-government.

#### HARRIS LAND JOB.

Well, there are other little transactions of the Government which makes me doubtful whether they should be trusted with the expenditure of this \$3,000,000, for which they are to ask next Friday. It is on record that they purchased in the city of St. John, a piece of property for the Intercolonial, in 1892. A year after the sale, the owner swore that its value was \$93,401, and it was assessed by the city assessors at \$86,000; but the Government paid \$200,000 for the property. This job was denounced by one of their own followers, Senator Adams,

then a member of the House, and a supporter of the Government. On 13th May, 1892, he said in this House:

You are to-night committing a public crime. You are trying to force an expenditure upon the people you cannot justify. There is no evidence to justify this legislature in passing \$200,000 for the purchase of this property. No Grit, no Tory, high or low, from the richest to the poorest, could say that \$200,000 was the actual price paid by common law, prudence or justice. It is simply a job. It stands unparalleled in the history of purchases. I am quite clear that this property had been purchased for three times its value, beyond all question.

In spite of that protest, \$200,000 was paid.

Sir, the Government went into a little improvement on a small river in the province of Quebec, and built what is now known to fame as the Little Rapids lock. They estimated the cost of this work at \$44,000. Well, they have paid in cash, up to date, of this work, the sum of \$260,000, and there are claims pending amounting to \$61,000. The contractor was Mr. W. J. Poupore. He got this contract without tenders, there is no traffic now upon the canal, the lock is not being used, the work is entirely useless, and Mr. Poupore is Government candidate in the county of Pontiac.

The Langevin block cost, in extras, as much as the whole original estimate.

The St. Charles branch of the Intercolonial was estimated to cost \$136,000. Before the Government got through with it, they had spent on the work, \$1,723,000, and there are claims against the Government amounting to \$37,719 more. This railway is fourteen miles long, and runs out from Point Lévis.

The Galops channel in the St. Lawrence is another evidence of the incapacity of this Administration, if not of their corruption. There was a contract let for the improvement of this channel in 1879 by the Secretary of State, then Minister of Railways and Canals (Sir Charles Tupper). It was let to Mr. Denis O'Brien for \$239,750, fourteen-foot navigation. O'Brien withdrew and Davis & Sons got the contract at an advance. They got it at \$306,600. They assigned to Gilbert & Son, who were subsequently required to make it to 17-foot navigation. Their contract bound them to complete this work by 1881. It was reported to be complete in 1888, and was taken over by the department, and the departmental report states that the channel is open for navigation, 200 feet wide, 3,300 feet long, straight, and from 16½ to 17 foot navigation. In 1894, the Minister of Railways said it was not being used, that \$446,500 had been spent upon it, and that there were claims against the department amounting to \$130,000 more in connection with this work, besides the thousands of dollars spent in surveys, &c. And to-day the old south channel is still being preferred to this

straight, deep, wide Galops channel, which has cost the country so dear.

#### THE CURRAN BRIDGES.

Sir, the latest evidence of incapacity, if not corruption, that we have in the Department of Railways and Canals, is in connection with the construction of a public work, of which a few people in this country may have heard—the Curran Bridge, in the city of Montreal. It was decided to construct two bridges there, at Wellington Street, one for road traffic and another for the Grand Trunk Railway to cross the Lachine Canal. This work has resulted in the loss of some hundreds of thousands of dollars to the people. Parliament was told that the total cost would be \$170,000, and that this was considered to be an excess estimate. Parliament was later told that an additional sum of \$40,000 would be required for a 20-foot navigation. This raised the highest estimate made by hon. gentlemen opposite themselves to \$210,000. The amount which they have actually paid to date is \$394,000, and there are about \$60,000 still unpaid. The superstructure of these works was built by contract at a contract price; the work on the substructure—the piers, &c.,—was done by days' labour, by men furnished by Mr. St. Louis; and in the investigation, it was shown that Mr. St. Louis said he gave \$1,500 to the legal partner of the Hon. Mr. Ouimet, the Minister of Public Works, for the Vaudreuil election. These facts you will find at page 344 of the blue-book containing the evidence before the commission. After some \$14,000 had been paid to St. Louis, Mr. Schreiber the chief engineer became suspicious that all was not right and on the 25th April, he wrote to the Minister as follows:—

Dear Mr. Haggart,—As I mentioned to you, I was not a little startled upon receiving from Mr. Parent the pay-rolls and accounts for the month of March in connection with the Wellington Street bridges, which summed up an enormous sum. \* \* \* \* \* Mr. Parent explains that the excess of expenditure is due to the large amount of ice which had to be cut up and carried away; to the frozen condition of the excavation, to the breaking away of the cofferdam on two occasions, to the solid frozen condition of the crib and other obstructions which had to be removed, and, as I understand him to say, to political interference.

The Minister should have immediately ordered an investigation, and in the meantime, have stopped all payments to St. Louis. But he did not. On the 10th of May the chief engineer wrote again to the Minister urging that a commission of inquiry should be issued. On the 11th May, the day after this letter was written, \$8,393 was paid to this man suspected of fraud. On the 17th of May a commission of inquiry was issued on the grounds that frauds had been committed. On the 27th May, ten days after the issue of that commission \$86,000 was paid over,



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and on the 6th June, \$39,000 more was paid, or a total of \$105,000 paid to this man after a committee of investigation had been appointed by the Government to examine into these stupendous frauds. Sir, there is not a business man in all Canada who would be guilty of such utter mismanagement of his own affairs. The cause of the enormous amount which the pay-rolls and accounts for March totalled up is said by Mr. Parent to be the removal of ice and frozen earth and other obstructions, all of which was included in the original estimate of cost,—and, he adds, "political interference." This "political interference" has cost the country thus far \$184,000 and, according to the judgment recently given will cost it some \$60,000 more. Sir, we will leave the country to judge whether or not these losses are due to the incapacity of the Minister. The court of inquiry and the Committee of Public Accounts between them showed the following facts:—that the Government paid to contractor St. Louis:

\$4 a day for a foreman.  
\$6 a day for a foreman for night or overtime.  
\$8 a day for a foreman on Sunday.  
\$12 a day for a foreman on Sunday overtime.  
\$5 a day for team.  
\$10 a day for team on Sunday.  
\$2.50 a day for derrick.  
\$3.75 a day for derrick for overtime.  
\$7.50 a day for derrick for overtime on Sunday.

As an hon. gentleman remarked it must have been a very sensitive and religiously inclined derrick to require three days' pay for one day's work or Sunday:

St. Louis put on all the men he wished and got paid for them.

There were 2,000 men on the works at one time.

There were many idle.  
No Government timekeeper.  
No regular count.  
No Government foreman.  
No Government supervision.  
No Government record of men or materials.  
No Government classification of labour.  
Unskilled labour was paid for as skilled labour.  
There was no public tenders for timber.  
Inferior timber was supplied.  
Carters' delivery tickets for lumber are missing.  
There were no checks as to quality of timber and lumber supplied.

Large quantities are missing.  
New timber was burnt as firewood, carted away and stolen.

Government teams had to haul lumber that the contractor was to deliver.  
\$39,896 was paid for \$6,000 worth of stone-cutting.

\$16,715 was paid for \$3,000 worth of stone-cutting on another part of the work.  
Stone was hauled by team 20 miles along the railway running from the quarry to the works.

The Government was warned all along of the frauds, but allowed them to continue, and paid the bills as they came in.

When the work was completed the Government issued a commission to investigate.

Pending the investigation the Government paid St. Louis a balance of \$105,000 for wages on an

account that the chief engineer discredited and would not certify to.

The commission unanimously reported incompetence, extravagance and fraud.

The people's money was lost.

No one has been held responsible.

Sir, wherever the probe has been applied, since 1891, it has drawn forth corruption, and yet so dead is the conscience of hon. gentlemen opposite that they immediately whitewashed the culprits when proven guilty of these political crimes. Of one of them who was proven guilty, this statement was made, that if his skirts were not quite clean, they were clean enough to ensure his protection in this House.

Sir, I do not think it is safe to entrust hon. gentlemen opposite with the expenditure of vast sums of money. They have not proven themselves to be good trustees. They must be turned out, boodling must be stopped. Even if they have the will, they have lost the power to stop this reign of corruption. They must give way to men who are determined to put down wrong-doing and the waste of the people's money, men who believe that wrong-doing in public affairs is as indefensible as wrong-doing in private concerns.

#### 4.—DEMANDS STRICTEST ECONOMY—DECREASED EXPENDITURE.

We cannot but view with alarm the large increase of the public debt, and of the controllable annual expenditure of the Dominion, and the consequent undue taxation of the people under the governments that have been continuously in power since 1878, and we demand the strictest economy in the administration of the government of the country.

#### PROMISES OF REDUCTION.

Sir, in 1878, the net debt was \$140,363,069.91; in 1881 it had risen to \$155,395,780. Sir Leonard Tilley, in delivering his Budget speech in 1882, declared that it would be necessary still further to increase this debt to provide for the Canadian Pacific Railway, and certain public works. He said that \$48,000,000 would be required for these purposes, and that the debt would then be \$203,379,680. He promised distinctly that there would be thereafter no further increase of the public debt, but that instead, the debt would be rapidly decreased. He even gave us the particulars of that decrease, and stated that there would be a surplus in 1882 of \$4,500,000; another in 1883 of \$3,000,000; and a surplus of \$1,000,000 a year for the next seven years, all of which would be applied to the reduction of our debt. He promised to provide a sinking fund amounting to \$1,500,000 a year, and stated that by 1890 the surplus and the sinking fund would together reduce the net debt to \$175,000,000. He went further, and declared that between 1882 and 1890, 75 million acres of our Crown lands in the North-west would be sold at an average

price of \$1 an acre, and that this sum of \$75,000,000 would all be applied towards the reduction of our debt. Here are his words:

Then our debt would only be about \$100,000,000 instead of \$175,000,000, or less than \$20 per head.

In 1890, the net debt was \$237,500,000 or nearly \$49 per head. It has long passed the \$50 limit. Speaking during the same debate, the present Secretary of State (Sir Charles Tupper) endorsed Sir Leonard Tilley's calculation. Let me recall to the House the very words he uttered:

When the great Canadian Pacific Railway is completed and every dollar of expenditure is provided for, including canal expenditure and everything else, the debt will only be \$203,000,000, and the surpluses with the sinking funds up to 1890 will bring the debt down to \$175,000,000.

He also said Sir Leonard Tilley's calculation to realize \$75,000,000 by sale of lands in the North-west, was beyond question. Said he: "No hon. gentleman, I am sure, will venture to dispute it." Had any doubting Thomas dared to rise in the House and dispute the hon. gentleman, the finger of scorn would have been pointed at him, and he would have been charged with disloyalty to his country for having doubted their ability to dispose of 75 million acres of land during those eight years. Alas for the hon. gentleman's calculations. This mighty prophet declared that the net debt of Canada would be reduced down to 100 million dollars, after that great national work had been provided for, but, Sir, we find the debt was \$237,500,000 in 1890. This sagacious statesman, this far-seeing man, this political prophet is the Aaron whom the despairing Israelites opposite hope will lead them out of the wilderness in which they have been wandering these five years without a leader. Why, Sir, they cannot get out of the wilderness. The elections will soon be on, and they cannot cross that Jordan. Every man of them will die in the wilderness, save two, Caleb and Joshua, of the old guard. These two will cross alive; because, Sir, they have visited the promised land laid out before them in this platform of the Liberal party, and they have returned to their friends with a true report. But our friends opposite have not believed that report, and hence they must surely die, politically, when these elections take place.

#### MAGNITUDE OF NET PUBLIC DEBT.

Instead of being reduced, our debt has gone on increasing, and on 30th June last it amounted to \$253,074,927. This is an enormous sum. Hon. gentlemen, surely, cannot be alive to its magnitude, or they would not so merrily roll it up. Let me help them to realize it—and here let me say I am sorry that the Minister of Agriculture is not present, because I have a little proposition to

make to him. We coin no gold in Canada. If we were called upon to pay our national debt in coin, it must be paid off in silver. It would require 7,000 tons. If these were loaded on railway cars, there being 20 tons in each car, the train would be two miles and a half long.

Our foreign creditors, I do not think, would want our silver, at all events not in such vast quantities, they might prefer to take cattle or grain. So the hon. Minister might extend the scope of the Government farms and begin to raise cattle and grain to pay off the national indebtedness. Our creditors might prefer to take payment in cattle alone. He would require to raise 10,000,000 head at present prices. This is a large number. Sir, the Minister of Agriculture, with his limited knowledge of agriculture, may never have seen a herd so vast as this—neither have I. But I will, if possible, help him to realize how vast this herd would be. We will imagine that he has these cattle ready for market. I find it would require a field containing 5,000 acres to hold them, and they would be packed pretty closely then. We will suppose the Minister stationed at the gate of the field to let the cattle out, one by one, to water, and we will suppose that six seconds were occupied in each animal passing through. The Minister would require to remain there ten hours a day for five years before the last unhappy beast got out for a drink. Supposing he had them ready to march to market and had them arranged in procession, eight abreast. He would have a procession which would reach from Vancouver to Halifax, and for hundreds of miles beyond.

We will suppose, however, that our creditors prefer wheat, and will take it at 60 cents per bushel. When the Minister of Agriculture had produced enough wheat to pay our net debt, and had it loaded in cars, 20 tons in each, and the cars formed into a train—that train would reach from Vancouver to Halifax, and five or six hundred miles beyond.

#### INCREASE UNDER MACKENZIE.

The member for South Ontario (Mr. Smith) dwelt vigorously on the increase of the national debt under the Mackenzie regime. It is quite true that the debt increased during those five years. The increase in 1874 was \$8,476,502; in 1875, \$7,683,413; 1876, \$8,543,136; 1877, \$8,683,794; 1878, \$7,126,670, or, altogether, \$40,513,608. Why this increase? Every dollar was required to fulfil obligations entered into by the preceding Government, to which the honour of the country was pledged. They had to be carried out, and they were carried out wisely and well, and without scandal. What were those engagements? I will give the House the words of Sir Leonard Tilley in 1873. He said:

We are entering upon new and increased engagements involving a very large sum of money.

We are entering upon work—we have already done so—which will require a large increase of our debt. We have \$10,000,000 to spend on the Intercolonial Railway. We have \$30,000,000 for the Canadian Pacific Railway and the canal system which has been accepted by the Government will involve an expenditure of \$20,000,000. These are serious matters inasmuch as they add \$60,000,000 to our existing debt.

They had already entered on the work in connection with the Intercolonial Railway, the Canadian Pacific Railway and the canal system which had been accepted, and it was in carrying out those works that the Mackenzie Government added to the national debt; but they spent upon them only forty millions and a half, instead of sixty millions, which Sir Leonard Tilley said those works would add to the national debt.

#### DEFICITS UNDER MACKENZIE.

Hon. gentlemen opposite deplored the deficit that occurred during the Mackenzie Administration; they called that an era of deficits. The Secretary of State has expressed strong opinions on deficits generally. His opinion was uttered in 1878. Speaking in reply to the then Finance Minister, he said:

What does he (Sir Richard Cartwright) tell the House? He tells the House now that he does not propose to submit any measure by which this great calamity, this great disaster, this ruin to the credit of the country, shall be averted, although he shows that on the 10th of this month (February, 1878), he has a deficit of \$617,610.

This may not have been a blue-ruin speech on the part of the hon. gentleman, but certainly it was red ruin—disaster, calamity and ruin to the credit of the country. The hon. gentleman thus described the deficit, which amounted to \$617,610. We are aware that he possesses a very large vocabulary, but what has he to say of a deficit of \$4,154,000, which the Public Accounts showed occurred last year? In that era of deficits, covering 1876, 1877 and 1878, we find that they aggregated \$4,489,000, about equal to the single deficit which occurred last year. Let it be remembered, also, that those deficits under the Mackenzie Administration occurred under a low tariff, and were caused by loss of revenue, owing largely to the shrinkage in value of goods imported. The deficits under the present Government occur under high duties, under duties levied largely in the form of specific duties, a system which, it was said, would for ever remove any chance of future deficits. The customs receipts fell from \$14,315,192 in 1873-74 to \$12,900,000 in 1879, a decrease of \$1,500,000. Why this falling off? We have heard much of the hard times during the Mackenzie Administration, and it was said that the volume of imports was largely diminished at that time. Nothing of the sort occurred. The volume of imports was not diminished. The people purchased and used, in 1878 and 1879,

as many yards of cloth, as much hardware and cutlery, as much clothing and food, per head, as in 1873. The loss of revenue and consequent deficit is no evidence whatever of hard times prevailing during that period. It was owing to the great decrease in the value of the commodities being imported. In support of this, I will give as my evidence, the words of Sir Leonard Tilley, who, speaking in 1879, in support of the policy of specific duties, said:

It is established by comparative statements that the goods imported into the Dominion have decreased in value to the extent of from 33½ per cent to 40 per cent since 1873.

To leave no one in doubt as to the effect of this shrinkage in value on the revenue, he explains:

Twenty-five per cent in value will not now bring more than 15 per cent did in 1873.

And he gives as an example, the value of cloth. He says:

In 1873 100 yards of cloth at \$1 a yard would produce \$15 of revenue. The same cloth is worth 60 cents per yard now (1878), and it would require a tariff of 25 per cent to produce the same amount of revenue.

And he adds:

The volume of imports has not been diminished.

#### DEBT AND EXPENDITURE INCREASING FOUR TIMES FASTER THAN OUR POPULATION.

The increase of our debt is out of all proportion to the increase of population. If our debt had increased only in the ratio of the increase of population, there would not be so much cause for alarm, but, Sir, from 1881 to 1891, our population increased 11.66 per cent, say 12 per cent, while our taxation, by customs, increased 27 per cent, our expenditure increased 42 per cent, and our debt increased 53 per cent. Sir, there was a large increase of controllable expenditure. The population from 1878 to 1895 increased, I believe, about 25 per cent—I think that is a fair statement of the increase of the population between 1878 and 1895. During this period the following increases in our expenditure occurred:—The expenditure in Civil Government increased 70 per cent; the expenditure on Public Works (departmental) increased 85 per cent; the expenditure on Mounted Police increased 90 per cent; the expenditure on Excise increased 100 per cent; the expenditure on Indians increased 140 per cent; the expenditure on Arts, Agriculture and Statistics increased 150 per cent; the expenditure on Militia and Defence increased 150 per cent; the expenditure on Superannuation increased 150 per cent; the expenditure on Quarantine increased 280 per cent; the expenditure on Fisheries increased 400 per cent; and the expenditure on the

North-west Territories Government increased 1,500 per cent. Sir, the population increased, during this period, only 25 per

cent. I will give the items, as follows, and hon. gentleman can figure out the percentages for themselves:—

EXPENDITURE, CONSOLIDATED FUND, 1878 AND 1895.

|                                        | 1878.      | 1895.      | Increase.  |
|----------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|
|                                        | \$         | \$         | \$         |
| Interest on Public Debt.....           | 7,048,883  | 10,466,294 | 3,417,411  |
| Charges on the Debt, Premiums, &c..... | 189,566    | 278,940    | 89,383     |
| Administration of Justice.....         | 564,920    | 755,682    | 190,762    |
| Arts, Agriculture and Statistics.....  | 92,365     | 216,740    | 124,375    |
| Civil Government.....                  | 823,369    | 1,422,227  | 598,858    |
| Fisheries.....                         | 93,262     | 443,822    | 350,560    |
| Immigration.....                       | 154,351    | 105,652    | 41,301     |
| Indians.....                           | 421,503    | 955,408    | 533,900    |
| Legislation.....                       | 618,035    | 941,570    | 323,535    |
| Mail and Steamship Subsidies.....      | 257,534    | 513,268    | 255,734    |
| Post Office.....                       | 1,724,938  | 3,593,647  | 1,868,709  |
| Militia and Defence.....               | 618,136    | 1,574,013  | 955,877    |
| Mounted Police.....                    | 334,748    | 646,125    | 311,377    |
| North-west Government.....             | 18,199     | 303,626    | 285,427    |
| Penitentiaries.....                    | 308,101    | 449,599    | 141,498    |
| Public Works.....                      | 997,469    | 1,742,316  | 744,847    |
| Public Works (Departmental).....       | 97,123     | 151,698    | 54,575     |
| Superannuation.....                    | 106,588    | 265,385    | 158,797    |
| Customs Administration.....            | 714,527    | 917,632    | 203,105    |
| Excise Expenditure.....                | 215,024    | 471,864    | 256,840    |
| Railways and Canals.....               | 2,375,438  | 3,704,126  | 1,328,688  |
| Totals .....                           | 17,774,089 | 30,009,638 | 12,235,549 |

These items totalled, in 1878, \$17,774,089, and in 1895 they amounted to \$30,009,638, an increase of \$12,235,549, or over 60 per cent increase. The total expenditure on Consolidated Fund amounted to \$23,503,158 in 1878, and to \$38,132,005 in 1895, an increase of \$14,628,847, or about 60 per cent increase in these eighteen years; while the population only increased 25 per cent.

THE SUPERANNUATION FUND.

I have said the Superannuation expenditure increased from \$106,588 in 1878 to \$265,385 in 1895. The Superannuation Act was passed in 1871 when Sir Francis Hincks was Minister of Finance in the Government of Sir John A. Macdonald. Its objects were to keep back a portion of the salaries of all civil servants, to form a fund out of which allowances would be made to members of the Civil Service who were disabled by ill-health or incapacitated by old age, and were placed on the retired list. This Act provided that 4 per cent of all salaries of \$600, and over, should be kept back, and that 2½ per cent of all salaries under \$600 should be retained. Had these percentages remained at that, with careful management and honest administration, the fund might have been self-sustaining; but, some few years later, when Sir Leonard Tilley was Finance Min-

ister, the amount which the Civil Servants were required to pay was cut in half. Those receiving \$600 salary, and over, paid 2 per cent of their salaries into the fund, and those receiving under \$600 paid 1½ per cent. But, Sir, while their contributions to the fund was cut in two, their claims upon that fund remained as they were before. Very soon after this change was made, the amount paid out to civil servants who had been retired and ceased to render any service whatever to the country, exceeded, largely, the amount which they paid in each and every year, and last year, the amount which was paid in by the civil servants was \$63,274.88, but the amount of pensions paid out was \$265,385.77. The people of this country paid the difference, amounting to \$202,110.89. Sir, the following is a statement of the amounts which were paid into the fund each year since 1871, and the amount paid out in superannuation allowances during the same period:

SUPERANNUATION FUND.

| Year..     | Receipts. | Expenditure |
|------------|-----------|-------------|
|            | \$ cts.   | \$ cts.     |
| 1871 ..... | 49,470 50 | 12,880 49   |
| 1872 ..... | 53,213 80 | 38,842 81   |



| Year. | Receipts. | Expenditure | of service and the total amount paid out to date : |          |           |
|-------|-----------|-------------|----------------------------------------------------|----------|-----------|
|       | \$ cts.   | \$ cts.     |                                                    | Paid in. | Draw out. |
| 1873  | 54,757 30 | 53,026 12   |                                                    |          |           |
| 1874  | 34,630 13 | 64,442 84   |                                                    |          |           |
| 1875  | 36,678 71 | 71,371 85   |                                                    |          |           |
| 1876  | 38,476 00 | 101,627 16  |                                                    |          |           |
| 1877  | 40,890 26 | 161,826 99  |                                                    |          |           |
| 1878  | 41,856 62 | 106,588 91  |                                                    |          |           |
| 1879  | 41,989 20 | 113,531 63  |                                                    |          |           |
| 1880  | 43,531 80 | 116,391 75  |                                                    |          |           |
| 1881  | 44,995 80 | 147,862 10  |                                                    |          |           |
| 1882  | 46,426 39 | 160,319 95  |                                                    |          |           |
| 1883  | 46,372 03 | 186,236 67  |                                                    |          |           |
| 1884  | 51,882 21 | 192,692 70  |                                                    |          |           |
| 1885  | 52,701 33 | 203,636 21  |                                                    |          |           |
| 1886  | 57,075 43 | 200,655 25  |                                                    |          |           |
| 1887  | 62,600 96 | 202,285 85  |                                                    |          |           |
| 1888  | 62,945 72 | 212,743 72  |                                                    |          |           |
| 1889  | 63,031 46 | 218,933 65  |                                                    |          |           |
| 1890  | 61,513 05 | 241,764 66  |                                                    |          |           |
| 1891  | 62,824 60 | 241,110 49  |                                                    |          |           |
| 1892  | 63,862 79 | 253,679 88  |                                                    |          |           |
| 1893  | 64,433 27 | 263,710 15  |                                                    |          |           |
| 1894  | 63,974 67 | 262,302 00  |                                                    |          |           |
| 1895  | 63,274 83 | 265,385 77  |                                                    |          |           |

|                 | Paid in. | Draw out. |
|-----------------|----------|-----------|
| F. A. Himsworth | \$ 315   | \$17,950  |
| Lindsay Russell | 323      | 13,598    |
| J. B. Cherriman | 1,120    | 19,359    |
| G. W. Wicksteed | 1,088    | 21,418    |
| John Kidd       | 517      | 21,895    |
| J. M. Passon    | 352      | 26,180    |
| W. R. Mingaye   | 1,216    | 30,572    |
| J. Lesalle      | 560      | 22,247    |
| J. F. Rubidge   | 48       | 31,579    |

Altogether these nine members of the Civil Service, now retired, paid in \$6,048 and have drawn out up to date, \$219,793. They have drawn out 37 times more than the amount they paid into the fund while they were in the service.

#### THE SYSTEM ABUSED.

Men in good health are superannuated against their will, against their earnest protestation that they are not suffering from ill-health and are not incapacitated by old age, simply to make room for political supporters. A case occurred not long since which illustrates the methods by which this is brought about. I refer to the retirement of Mr. Vankoughnet, who was superannuated in 1893 at the age of fifty six years and while in perfectly good health, and declaring himself to be sound in body and mind. The sole reason given by the Government for superannuating him was that his health was not good, that he had no longer the vigour of intellect once his, and that he was unfit to discharge the duties of his office; but it is known that their real reason for getting rid of him was to provide a position for Mr. Hayter Reed. Sir, the true reason for the superannuation of Mr. Vankoughnet is acknowledged by the Minister. It was this, that he should make place for Mr. Hayter Reed. Therefore, he was superannuated, and is now drawing \$2,112 a year, doing nothing for it, but enjoying it in England, in perfect health and vigour of intellect.

There are a few other abuses of the superannuation system, and I will allude to one or two, with your kind permission. One was in connection with Mr. Dansereau, a leading Conservative of the city of Montreal. Mr. Dansereau desired the postmastership of Montreal, and Mr. Lamothe, who was postmaster at that time, was superannuated accordingly. This happened on 1st February, 1891, just on the eve of the general election. Well, Mr. Lamothe had friends whom it was desirable to keep quiet, so eight years were added to his term of service, and he was superannuated on a pension of \$2,000 a year.

Sir, during this period the expenditure was \$4,036,349.60, and the amount paid in \$1,302,368.96, a difference of \$2,733,980.64, which represents the loss to the country in connection with this fund. During this period of twenty-five years, for every dollar paid in three dollars has been paid out, and the difference between the receipts and the expenditure is growing greater every year. For the last five years the difference is as one dollar paid in to four dollars paid out.

Sir, this fund is not fair to the Civil Service. If a civil servant continues in the service until death, his heirs receive nothing whatever for the amount of money he has paid in. If, however, he is superannuated, he then begins to draw from this fund whatever sum he may be entitled to under the statute. Sir, the Civil Service is not very arduous. He must be a very sick man indeed who cannot discharge the duties demanded of him, and he must be very old indeed when he is incapacitated by old age to discharge those duties. Sir, this fund is made an excuse by the Government for getting rid of civil servants whenever they choose. When a place is wanted for some chosen follower or friend, then the fund is charged with the superannuation of some member of the Civil Service to provide a place for him. Many of these civil servants have been superannuated when young in years and strong in health. They are living yet, and I hope they will long continue to live as happy beneficiaries of this fund. I have no desire to see their days shortened. But I regret very much that the country is deprived of the services of men so strong and healthy as those men must be to have lived so long after their superannuation.

I will mention a few sample cases showing the total amount paid in during the time

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and Mr. Dansereau was made postmaster at a salary of \$4,000 a year. So that these two gentlemen receive out of the public chest no less a sum than \$6,000 a year.

Mr. Robert Wallace was postmaster at Victoria, B.C. He strenuously resisted being superannuated. His health was all right and his intellect likewise, but, unfortunately for him, his place was wanted for Mr. Shakespeare, then a member of this House. To quiet Mr. Wallace, eight years were added to his length of service, and he was duly superannuated. After the eight years were added, he was only then entitled to draw \$912 a year. This was considered too little to quiet Mr. Wallace, and so Parliament is asked every session to vote \$240 more to his superannuation allowance, making it \$1,150 a year which he receives, while Mr. Shakespeare is made postmaster at Victoria at a salary of \$2,000 a year.

There are many similar cases, but I will only mention one more, the case of Mr. John Tilton, Deputy Minister of Fisheries, who was superannuated when only fifty-five years old, and who was also in the enjoyment of vigorous health and sound intellect. He was pensioned, I suppose, on the ground that he was sick, feeble, or incapacitated on account of old age, and this strong, healthy, vigorous man, in the prime of life, now receives \$1,000 per year and does nothing in return.

These are some of the reasons why we condemn the superannuation system of hon. gentlemen opposite. I do not intend to go into the details of every item of the expenditure of this Government. I have promised to be brief, and I intend to be brief. I have shown that the total expenditure of the Government has increased well upon \$15,000,000 a year since 1878, and that the increase of our expenditure is over 60 per cent, against an increase in population, in these same eighteen years, of only 25 per cent. No one who cares to think at all, will say that this is safe or wise, and no one will believe that it is not possible to effect large savings in this expenditure. No one in the country will deny that this must be done. So much for plank No. 4 of our platform.

#### F.—FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.—INDEPENDENCE OF PARLIAMENT.

That the convention regrets that by the action of Ministers and their supporters in Parliament, in one case in which serious charges were made against a Minister of the Crown, investigation was altogether refused, while in another case the charges preferred were altered and then referred to a commission appointed upon the advice of the Ministry, contrary to the well settled practice of Parliament and this convention affirms:

That it is the ancient and undoubted right of the House of Commons to inquire into all matters of public expenditure, and into all charges of misconduct in office against Ministers of the Crown, and the reference of such matters to royal commissions created upon the advice of the accused is at variance with the due respon-

sibility of Ministers to the House of Commons, and tends to weaken the authority of the House over the Executive Government, and this convention affirms that the powers of the people's representatives in this regard should on all fitting occasions be upheld.

There can be no mistaking the meaning of this plank in our platform. No administration that intends to do right with the people's money, will fear to have their acts investigated in the full light of parliamentary inquiry. The House of Commons is more than a mere echo of the Ministers of the Crown. We are supposed to be in the enjoyment of responsible government here. The Ministers can be made, if hon. gentlemen opposite choose, responsible to this House for their conduct. We are the representatives of the people, their chosen trustees, and it is through us in this Parliament that the people of this country are governed and governed. It is our duty, then, to determine the policy of the Administration. But this committee of Parliament, this Government, sitting behind closed doors, frames a policy, and then demands that we support it without question. A policy once adopted, its administration is to be without question. No member of this House must dare to rise in his place and attack the administration or demand an investigation. If he does, the investigation is simply refused. The Government forget that they are not the dictators but the servants of the people, and accountable to them through their representatives here. They must give an account of their stewardship to the people, if it be demanded. To shirk an open investigation leaves on the mind an ugly suspicion concerning the person charged. The Ministers, I should imagine, would court open and above-board inquiry into all their acts. If they are innocent, they should be glad to make the fact manifest to the people of Canada.

#### 6.—THE LAND FOR THE SETTLER.—NOT FOR THE SPECULATOR.

That in the opinion of this convention the sales of public lands of the Dominion should be to actual settlers only, and not to speculators, upon reasonable terms of settlement, and in such areas as can be reasonably occupied and cultivated by the settler.

Sir, I know something of what this country owes to the actual settler. I have lived for many years among them. I know all their struggles and their hardships, and I know the heroism they display in overcoming all the drawbacks, incident to the life of the pioneer. There is no finer province in the Dominion than Ontario; no state in the union can compare with it. And it was the early pioneers who made it what it is. They were the lusty blows that transformed this wilderness into the smiling fertile farms that occupy our land. The wilderness areas of our great west now contain the bulk of our undeveloped natural resources. Immense wealth awaits there the

advent of the settler. That land can only be made valuable by the labour of the pioneer. These men alone can lay broad and deep the foundations of our nations' greatness and wealth. The land grabber and the speculator are the natural enemies of the settler. Sir, it is a sin against him and against the nation to allow these land speculators in the North-west to stand between him and the land he wants. As matters stand to-day we find settlers taking up homesteads in the North-west where every alternate section is held either by a railway company or by the Hudson's Bay Company. And there are these settlers all alone awaiting the coming of neighbours who are able to purchase these alternate lots. In other townships the settler finds the whole of the lands owned by speculators called colonization societies. The few settlers who first go into these townships purchase their lands on reasonable terms. But after a few have gone in, the price of land is raised. This discourages further settlement, and so the pioneer finds himself toiling on alone, out in the prairie "splendidly isolated," surrounded with land which would make homes for many more, if only that land was made available to the actual settler, awaiting the coming of neighbours to help him by co-operation to build roads, support schools and maintain churches. Lonely, deprived of the society of his fellows, his children growing up without schools, he grows despondent; and many of our settlers in the North-west with its magnificent soil and splendid climate and with promise of great things to come, nevertheless, write home to friends in the old land so despondently as to discourage further immigration.

The land should be sold to the actual settler only and not to the speculator, and then settlement would be rapid and continuous. The colonization schemes of this Government in 1882 actually retarded the settlement of the North-west. Under the Order in Council of that year some 2,295 townships were sold on terms of credit to these colonization societies as they were called. But they were found to discourage settlement rather than to encourage it, and, to-day, the country is suffering from the results of that mistaken policy. In 1882 a motion declaring the land policy of the Liberals to be the land for the actual settler and not for the speculator was moved in this House and was defeated on a straight party vote. Again on the 7th of June, 1894, a similar motion was moved and again it was defeated by the Government majority. Sir, it would be wiser far to encourage dense and continuous settlement, and not to spread our population over vast areas where co-operation amongst the settlers is practically impossible. The practice of granting large blocks of land to railway companies that have built branch lines as feeders to the main line is not in the public interest. Let

the people upon these lands, and they would settle the country gradually, and these feeders would speedily be constructed to carry the traffic created by the people who had gone in on the land. Sir, the railway companies, to realize on the lands, sell them out to those who apply first. Speculators buy them up and hold them for higher prices and in this way retard settlement. In the end the railway company suffers injury by keeping the people out of the country. In 1892 the Minister of the Interior declared that 44,000,000 acres were held by the railway companies.

#### MISMANAGEMENT AND LOSS.

Sir, the promise held out to us was that actual settlers would buy the public lands at a dollar an acre and that the receipts were to amount to \$75,000,000 before 1890. After paying the cost of surveys and management \$60,000,000 it was said, would remain to be applied to the reduction of the public debt. The Dominion lands cost, up to the 1st July, 1894, \$5,288,995, and the receipts from land sales up to that time were \$1,949,905. Instead of having a profit of \$60,000,000, the management of our Dominion lands resulted in an actual loss to the treasury of \$3,328,000.

#### THE TIMBER POLICY.

The timber policy of the Government was madness itself. The policy which prevailed up to 1887 was simply scandalous and indefensible. Limits of the choicest timber were given away to those who were fortunate enough to enjoy the favour of the Government, at a nominal ground rent of \$5 per square mile. It was shown by the returns that 850 square miles of timber had been allotted to seventeen members of this House, some of whom are still here. The scandal which followed the exposure of one of these deals resulted in driving J. C. Rykert from public life. Altogether some 1,600 miles of timber limits have been given away subject to a ground rent of something less than one cent per acre. In 1882, Hon. Edward Blake moved that the system of granting limits was liable to gross abuse and a system of public competition should be adopted. This resolution was defeated by the Government majority. Later, in 1891, the Liberals here again condemned the policy of the Government in this respect when the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) moved that these limits should be disposed of by public auction. This also was defeated. Sir, under the Ontario system of selling timber limits we find that in 1892 a bonus averaging \$3,657.18 per square mile was received. That sale was of 633 square miles and on that the government received a bonus, a gratuity, one might call it, of \$2,315,000 or \$1,000,000 more than the cost of the Parlia-

ment buildings of Toronto. The same number of square miles sold under the Dominion plan would have brought \$3,165. So the account would stand thus:—Dominion method, receipts, \$3,165; provincial government method, \$2,135,000, for the same area of land. Then again the Dominion timber lands were sold subject to dues of 75 cents per thousand feet, board measure. Provincial timber limits were sold subject to the dues, amounting to \$1.25 per thousand feet board measure. Some of those limits have fallen back into the hands of the Government, because of the utter failure of the Government in attracting settlers to the North-west, and so providing a market for the timber which they had hoped to cut on those limits.

#### 7.—OPPOSE THE DOMINION FRANCHISE ACT, FAVOUR THE PROVINCIAL FRANCHISE.

That the Franchise Act since its introduction has caused the Dominion treasury over a million of dollars besides entailing a heavy expenditure to both political parties;

That each revision involves an additional expenditure of a further quarter of a million;

That this expenditure has prevented an annual revision, as originally intended, in the absence of which young voters entitled to the franchise have, in numerous instances, been prevented from exercising their natural rights;

That it has failed to secure uniformity, which was the principal reason assigned for its introduction;

That it has produced gross abuses by partisan revising barristers appointed by the Government of the day;

That its provisions are less liberal than those already existing in many provinces of the Dominion, and that, in the opinion of this convention, the Act should be repealed, and we should revert to the provincial franchise.

Sir, there are but few hon. gentlemen opposite who disagree with us in our hearty condemnation of this Franchise Act, if they would speak 'he secret of their souls. It is weary work to revise the lists under this Act, and it is costly work, as hon. gentlemen on both sides well know.

Sir, the National Policy and the gerrymander, plus human devices, saved the Government from defeat in 1882. But the popular conscience was aroused against the gerrymander, and people began to question the wisdom of the National Policy, and in 1885 the Government began to fear defeat in the general elections which they knew must take place in 1887. So to be sure of victory, in spite of the will of the people, it occurred to them to prepare their own lists, to appoint officials of their own, so as to make these lists in such a way as to limit as much as possible the right to vote to their own political friends. This was the object of their Franchise Act of 1885. The elections are now held on lists sometimes two, sometimes three, years old. There are thousands of young men whose names do not appear upon the lists upon which the elections are held. They are de-

prived of the right to say what Government shall be in power, of the right to condemn, if they feel so disposed, the actions of the Government which is in power.

In the election of 1891 it is estimated that between 60,000 and 70,000 young men were disfranchised under that Act. The general elections which will now soon occur will be held on lists which were revised in 1894. Sir, it is in the highest degree important to hon. gentlemen opposite not to allow the young men of Canada to vote. I believe that if they enfranchised the young men of Canada, they would arise and hurl from power the men who have so long betrayed the interests of this country. The Liberals gave the most determined opposition to this Franchise Act in 1885, and throughout the longest session ever held in this building, they fought against that Act; and were it not for the stand they then took, great as are the iniquities now existing in that Act, still greater iniquities would be found in it. Sir, this expensive Act, this unworkable Act, resulting in defective lists, was put upon the statute-book of this country in direct defiance of the convictions of many hon. gentlemen opposite. I am sure that many of them have always been sincerely sorry that that statute ever found its way among the laws of our country.

Among these men, I believe the late Sir John Thompson was one, and we know that he earnestly desired its abolition, and a return, practically, to the franchise of the provinces. I will read what he said in June, 1894, when he introduced his Bill:

The question upon which so much difference has arisen in the past as to the basis of the franchise, shall be adjusted by adopting the franchise of the several provinces.

The number of differences which exist between the provincial franchises and the Dominion franchise as established by our own Act, are so few as not to be worth the contest and the expenses which are involved in keeping them up, and the adoption of a general system which will apply both to the local and Dominion legislatures, has recommendations as regards simplicity and facilities for economy, which cannot exist under a dual system such as we have been keeping up for the past few years.

Also, it is obviously one of the most desirable features in connection with any system of franchise, and to my mind an essential feature, that the system to be adopted will be such that it can be put into operation every year.

That was Sir John Thompson's view, but his Bill never passed. The hon. gentlemen who now form the present Administration, prefer the present law; they were opposed to the changes suggested by Sir John Thompson, and they are to-day in favour of the Franchise Act, knowing it to be in their interest.

#### 8. AGAINST THE GERRYMANDER—COUNTY BOUNDARIES SHOULD BE PRESERVED.

That by the Gerrymander Acts, the electoral divisions for the return of members to the House



of Commons have been so made as to prevent a fair expression of the opinion of the country at the general elections, and to secure to the party now in power a strength out of all proportion greater than the number of electors supporting them would warrant. To put an end to this abuse, to make the House of Commons a fair exponent of public opinion, and to preserve the historic continuity of counties, it is desirable that in the formation of electoral divisions, county boundaries should be preserved, and that in no case parts of different counties should be put in one electoral division.

Sir, the gerrymander occurred somewhat in this way: Under the British North America Act the province of Quebec is entitled to send sixty-five members to this House. The population of Quebec, when divided by sixty-five, gives the unit of representation, the number of persons entitled to send a representative here. The population of each province, divided by the unit gives the number of members that each province is entitled to send to this Parliament. When the census is taken, it will show that some provinces have grown in regard to population more than others, and thus arises the necessity of a redistribution of the seats. The proper method of doing this would be to adhere to the county boundaries, and when it is necessary to increase the representation of a province, to do it by sub-dividing some county, keeping within the county boundary lines, and, at the same time, keeping as close as possible to the unit. The plan adopted by hon. gentlemen opposite, openly and above-board, is to arrange the constituencies so as to increase their chances at the polls. Take a strong Liberal county, surrounded by weak Conservative constituencies. The Liberal county may have a few townships with Conservative majorities, and the Conservative counties may have a few townships with Liberal majorities. The Conservative townships are detached from the Liberal county and distributed among, perhaps, several Conservative counties. The Liberal townships are detached from the Conservative counties, and added to the Liberal county. This is what is called "hiving the Crits," and by the deal the chances of the Government in several counties are increased. This has contributed enormously to the maintenance of the Government in office.

If we add up the votes cast for the Government candidates in the province of Ontario, allowing for the majorities in the constituencies at the general elections electing Government candidates by acclamation, and allowing where any triangular contest occurred the same Government majority as was obtained in the preceding election, we find very little difference in the voting strength of the two parties, even after the by-elections; yet so beautifully does the gerrymander work that the Government is able to count fifty-six followers as against thirty-six Opposition members from this province. To bring about this result, the

Government carved up constituencies, regardless of county boundaries or community of interest.

In the redistribution of 1882 the Government departed radically from the principles laid down by their chieftain, Sir John A. Macdonald, in 1872. When the "Redistribution Act of 1872" was under consideration, Sir John A. Macdonald said:

With respect to the rural constituencies, the desire of the Government has been to preserve the representations for counties and subdivisions of counties as much as possible. It is considered objectionable to make representation a mere geographical term. It is desired as much as possible to keep the representation within the county so that each county that is a municipality of Ontario should be represented, and if it becomes large enough, divide it into ridings; that principle is carried out in the suggestions but it is obvious that there is a great advantage in having counties elect men whom they know. Our municipal system gives an admirable opportunity to constituencies to select men for their deserts. We all know the process which happily goes on in western Ontario. A young man in the county commences his public life by being elected by the neighbours who know him to the township council. If he shows himself possessed of administrative ability he is made a reeve or deputy-reeve of his township. He becomes a member of the county council, and as his experience increases and his character and ability become known, he is selected by his people as their representative in Parliament. It is, I think, a grand system that the people of Canada should have the opportunity of choosing for political promotion the men in whom they have most confidence and of whose abilities they are fully assured. All that great advantage is lost by cutting off a portion of two separate counties and adding them together for electoral purposes only. Those portions so cut off have no common interest; they do not meet together and they have no common feeling, except that once in five years they go to the polls in their own township to vote for a man who may be known in one section and not in another. This tends toward the introduction and development of the American system of caucuses, by which wire-pullers take adventurers for their political ability only, and not for any personal respect for them. So that, as much as possible, from any point of view, it is advisable that counties should refuse men whom they do not know, and when the representation is increased, it should be by subdividing the counties into ridings.

I commend these views to hon. gentlemen opposite.

### 9.—THE SENATE DEFECTIVE—AMEND THE CONSTITUTION.

The present constitution of the Senate is inconsistent with the federal principle in our system of government, and is in other respects defective, as it makes the Senate independent of the people and uncontrolled by the public opinion of the country, and should be so amended as to bring it into harmony with the principles of popular government.

The experience of twenty-eight years has demonstrated that the Canadian Senate, under the present mode of appointment, is an utterly useless, though very expensive, part of

our legislative machinery. It is an utter fiction to pretend that appointments to the Senate are made by the Crown. We all know that they are made by the party in power, and that, too often, the appointments are made as a reward for party services, and are given to candidates because they have been defeated in contesting some constituency for a seat in the Commons. We know that the vacancies in the Senate are filled by the party in power from among their party friends, and that, to-day, the Senate is no longer a representative body, and is little better than a political club, whose chief function is to undo the Grits. Sir, these men, rejected by the people when seeking a seat in the Commons, are sent to the so-called higher chamber, there to defeat, if they choose, the popular desire for reform. Well, Sir, these men, when they meet in the Senate, are supposed to revise hasty legislation, but, judged by their acts, one might imagine that they are appointed for the hasty revision of legislation. Every hon. gentleman knows that for weeks the lawyers in this House, on both sides, worked arduously to prepare the Criminal Code. It required weeks of careful study in this House to promote that Bill through its different stages, but it ran through the Senate in two or three days, and just as fast as they could read clause after clause, they were carried, and the Bill became law.

For myself, and speaking personally, I see so little use for a second chamber, that I would gladly go for its abolition. If it be a power for good, I wish its friends would inform the public when, and where, and how, that power is exercised. It possesses vast power for mischief, and little chance of rendering any equivalent for the money it costs. I believe, Sir, the time for the abolition of the Senate has arrived. But, if this chamber is to continue, I think it should be made elective; and then its members being dependent on the will of their constituents, would have greater regard to the responsibilities of their position.

#### 10.—QUESTIONS OF PROHIBITION—A DOMINION PLEBISCITE.

That whereas public attention is at present much directed to the consideration of the admittedly great evils of intemperance, it is desirable that the mind of the people should be clearly ascertained on the question of prohibition by means of a Dominion plebiscite.

Well, Sir, so far as I am concerned, I believe in prohibition. The first vote which I ever polled in my life was for prohibition, and I have not yet awoke to the belief that that vote was cast in a moment of weakness. When this question was brought up in this House, I voted in favour of prohibition. But I want prohibition that will prohibit. A prohibitory law which would fail would make matters infinitely worse than they have ever been, or ever can be, under a license law. A year or so ago, owing to the enterprise of

the "Globe" newspaper, we were able to study the effects of prohibition in the different portions of the United States, where it was law. The one fact which was clearly brought out in that investigation was this: That a popular desire for this reform was necessary to its successful enforcement, and, where such desire was lacking, prohibition was found to be a miserable failure and the conditions were worse than they had been under a license system. The results demonstrated the wisdom of the Reform convention of 1893, in desiring to give every elector in the Dominion an opportunity to express his views upon the momentous question, before this Parliament resorted to prohibitory legislation. The temperance people of Canada are not cranks. They are practical men. They desire a full expression of public opinion upon this very important question. The true friends of temperance desire to have a fair majority of all the electors, before Parliament is called upon to enact prohibitory legislation. An opportunity to pronounce upon this question will be given to the people. The question can then be ventilated in all its aspects. Everything that can be urged against it may be urged, and everything that may be said in favour of prohibition may be urged in favour of it, and, if the verdict of the people is against prohibition, then, the prohibitionists of Canada must bide their time patiently, awaiting the day when a healthier public opinion will express itself in favour of this great reform. If the majority is for prohibition, and the people thus demand this reform, then, the expressed will of the people will, I believe, be faithfully carried out.

#### THE PROTECTIONIST PLATFORM.

Mr. Speaker, I have one or two more concluding remarks, and, as I say, I will be as brief as possible. So much for the platform of the Liberal party. Now, Sir, a word or two respecting the platform of hon. gentlemen opposite. They have given up tariff reform in despair. They have got back again now to the old National Policy, as outlined in 1878. They say they do not believe that it is a tree having rotten branches which must be lopped off, according to the words of their late leader, Sir John Thompson. They say they believe it is a healthy, vigorous tree, and good enough for them. Well, here is their policy. Sir John Macdonald moved, on the 7th March, 1878, the following resolution, seconded by Mr. Pope:—

That this House is of opinion, that the welfare of Canada requires the adoption of a National Policy, which by a judicious readjustment of the tariff, will benefit and foster the agricultural, the mining, the manufacturing and other interests of the Dominion; that such a policy will retain in Canada thousands of our fellow countrymen now obliged to expatriate themselves in search of the employment denied them at home; will restore prosperity to our

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struggling industries, now so sadly depressed; will prevent Canada from being made a sacrifice market; will encourage and develop an active interprovincial trade, and moving (as it ought to do) in the direction of a reciprocity of tariffs with our neighbours, so far as the varied interests of Canada may demand, will greatly tend to procure for this country, eventually a reciprocity of trade.

#### AN UTTER FAILURE.

Well, Sir, this policy has not benefited the agricultural interests of Canada. It has raised the cost of the production of agricultural produce; it has failed to maintain fair prices; it has resulted in depreciated land values, and an impoverished agricultural community; it has not retained our population; it has driven tens of thousands out of the country, until there is scarce a home in all Canada but mourns the loss of one or more of its sons. Thousands of honest toilers, grown gray in their warfare of life, are left at home on their farms, robbed of their stalwart sons and thrifty daughters, deprived of their helping hands, left alone to struggle on, patiently awaiting the summons to a world where tariffs are unknown.

The National Policy has destroyed many flourishing village industries all over the land. Under low tariff, villages sprung up all over Canada, in which there were many useful industries, giving employment to the youth of these villages. The young people found profitable employment within easy reach of their father's homes; but, to-day, they are driven out, forced to follow these industries, and, leaving the parental roof-tree in their happy village homes, are compelled to find employment as best they can in the large cities of the land, or leave the country in despair.

This policy has failed to coerce the United States into a reciprocity treaty. People are condemning it all over the country. In by-election after by-election the people have declared against it. Sir, according to the opinion of the Secretary of State (Sir Charles Tupper), this Government should resign, that is to say, if he has not changed his mind since 1877. Why, Sir, he thinks that the terms upon which this Government clings to office are too humiliating. In 1877 a few by-elections went against the Government of Mr. Mackenzie. The general elections were approaching, and, speaking of the situation, the Secretary of State, then in Opposition, took occasion to say:

I say, Sir, that I rejoice to know that however much hon. gentlemen may shrink from that ordeal, they must be more than blind not to see evidence on every side that they have lost the confidence of the people of this country.

Well, Sir, it is true that the Mackenzie Government lost the confidence of the people in a few of those constituencies, but they never for a moment lost confidence in each other. How is it to-day? Has not the Minister of

Finance, who for a year was leader in this House, the Premier's trusted mouth-piece in the Commons, the second in command—has not he told us that the Premier is lacking in firmness and prudence, and is incapable of governing the country? Did he not tell us that this Government is neither strong nor efficient, and that the loyal and united efforts of himself and his six colleagues for a whole year had failed to make it so? Did he not tell us, and tell us truly, that the necessity for a strong Government was never greater than now? Did he not assure us that the Premier could not command the confidence of his colleagues? Did he not tell us that the Premier could not satisfy the Conservative party that its strongest elements were at its head? Did he not tell us a truth well known to us, a fact as apparent as the light of day—but one concerning which good taste and party loyalty should have kept him silent—namely, that the Premier could not impress the country that it had a Government which was united and had power to govern? And did not the Premier, speaking of his colleagues, tell us:

Had not jealousy and a determination to destroy the usefulness of the head of the Government been firmly rooted in the breasts of those with whom I was associated, I flatter myself that we should have been successful in carrying on the affairs of this country.

Did he not solemnly assure us that he had not received their loyal support?

#### A POLITICAL RIP VAN WINKLE.

Sir, in my heart there is a great pity for the Secretary of State. He awakes to political life after a long and peaceful sleep in the sacred shades of the office of High Commissioner of Canada in London. Like Rip Van Winkle he awakes to find the world greatly changed—to find the party with the instinct of government hopelessly divided and the Cabinet in ruins. The sinking crew on the ship of state, frightened at the storm they themselves have raised, in their despair, as a last resort, wake him up and cry: "Save us, or we perish!" He cannot save them; he knows it now. The end of the world is coming. The party which the genius of Sir John Macdonald welded together it split into factions. He sees failure awaiting him on all sides. Sir, I think I can hear him exclaim, in the solitude of his chamber:

"The world is out of joint—oh, cursed spite  
That ever I was born to set it right."

But let us return to the hon. gentleman's speech. He went on to say:

I do not intend, Sir, to appeal to them (the Government of Hon. Alex. Mackenzie) and to point out to them that when the Government of England, when the Government of Mr. Gladstone was situated as the hon. gentlemen opposite are situated to-day, when election after election

taught them they had power, but not the concurrence of the public sentiment of the country.

#### RECENT BY-ELECTIONS.

Sir, one would think he was a Grit speaking of the Government of to-day. Election after election has been teaching our hon. friends opposite that while they have power they lack the concurrence of the public sentiment of the country. Everything favour the candidate of a strong and efficient Government in a by-election. These elections are held one by one. The first one in a constituency having a good, safe Government majority. The argument is that the Government has a big majority in the House, and a change of representation would make no difference whatever; it would not change results to send a member of the Opposition here; and then the sinister suggestion is made that after all it is wise to be on the winning side, and that it would be better for the balance of the Parliamentary term to send a supporter of the Government than a member of the Opposition.

All these things tell in favour of the Government candidate, and I am sorry to say that human nature is so weak that men are at times carried away by such arguments. Then, Sir, the Government have the gang skilled in human devices, to use the expression of the hon. Secretary of State, and well supplied out of the surplus fees of the Manufacturers' Association with nicely engraved campaign literature consisting of some bank's promise to pay \$2, \$5 or \$10, as the case may be. And with this illustrated literature the gang proceeds to get in its fine work through the byways and the highways of the townships—the streets and alleys in the towns. To hold a riding with an increased majority should be very easy for our friends the enemy; but what has been their record in the recent by-elections? Since January 1st, 1893, nineteen constituencies have been contested. Two of these were Liberal constituencies. One of them, South Middlesex, which was vacated by the death of our esteemed friend Mr. Armstrong, returned our stalwart friend (Mr. Boston) with an increased majority. The other constituency was Vercheres, vacated by the death of a friend whom we all regretted, the Hon. Félix Geoffrion. It returned our friend, the present able member for that county (Mr. Geoffrion), despite the appeals of the Minister of Public Works to the electors when they came to vote to forget their party, but to remember their God. Well, Mr. Speaker, they remembered both their party and their God, and voted for a Liberal. The other seventeen of the contested constituencies had been held by Conservatives. Of these the Conservatives succeeded in holding eight, and the Opposition gained nine. The aggregate Conservative majority against which the Liberals had to fight in these

nine constituencies was 2,838, and the aggregate majority secured by the Liberals in them was 2,263. These nine constituencies are the following:—

#### LIBERAL VICTORIES.

L'Islet, where my hon. friend (Mr. Tarte) put up such a fight as few men in this country besides him could equal; and against all odds—against the most bitter opposition and frantic efforts to defeat him as a punishment for the revelations of the political wrong-doing of hon. gentlemen opposite, made in this Parliament in 1891, he wrested that constituency from the Government.

Vaudreuil, in spite of St. Louis's money, in spite of the Minister of Public Works, in spite of the member for Provencher, in spite of the Solicitor General's appeal to the farmers to remember the great home market they had in the city of Montreal—to all these appeals Vaudreuil turned a deaf ear, and returned the present member (Mr. Harwood) by the handsome majority of 191.

Winnipeg, the gateway of the great Northwest, the centre of its life and energy, which in the election of 1891 had elected a supporter of the Government by a majority of 509, spurned the Government candidate in the by-election, and elected my hon. friend who now represents Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) with the handsome majority of 429.

Antigonish, which was vacated by the death of the late Premier, Sir John Thompson, resisted the pathetic appeals made to the electors to return a supporter of his to finish out the term which he unhappily did not survive to complete, and refused to endorse the conduct and administration of the Government, and returned to this House my hon. friend (Mr. McIsaac) with a handsome majority.

Cardwell was won by an opponent of the Government, the Government majority of 248 being changed to a majority of 226 against them.

Jacques Cartier, with a Conservative majority of 276, where the Conservatives had, according to the declaration of the late member, added to the list 700 more names than the Liberals, which should have rolled up a Government majority of nearly 1,000, went against the Government by a majority of 556.

Montreal Centre, where the Government had a majority of 1,214, they lost by a majority of 336. That constituency, the great centre of trade of the Dominion, with its vast commercial interests and its immense manufacturing concerns, went against the Government of the day, and declared, by electing my friend the present member (Mr. McShane), that they would have no more of the wrong-doing of this Government and no more incapacity in the administration of the affairs of the country.



Sir, West Huron proved the Government's dread of the by-election to be well founded. After long delay, the writs were issued and the constituency was lost to them by a majority of 190, and the war-horse from the west (Mr. Cameron) has come to this House to do valiant battle for truth and righteousness.

Charlevoix resisted the pleadings of both governments, provincial and federal, manfully proclaimed the principles of Liberalism, and returned an hon. gentleman (Mr. Angers) whose welcome by this House, I think, will long be remembered by him.

The hon. Secretary of State proceeded :

When this was the case I say that hon. gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) felt he owed it to himself and to the great party of which he was the leader, that he should not consent to hold office upon terms which he felt so humiliating.

What do hon. friends opposite intend to do now? Do they intend to imitate Mr. Gladstone? Not a bit. They will hold on to power as long as they can. Here we are in our sixth session, for the first time in our history, simply because the Government are afraid to face the electorate. For this reason they hang on to office one session longer than the constitution of our country contemplated. The hon. Secretary of State continued :

Sir, I have no hope that they will follow this example.

Neither have I.

I will not waste words or breath in order to take up the time of the House in making any hopeless appeals, but again congratulate the people that the day is drawing rapidly near when the independent public sentiment of this country will again have an opportunity of being heard—

Well, when the day does come there will be such a hurling from power of this Government as will teach them, once and for all, that it does not pay in the long run to mal-administer the affairs of the country :

—and that again there is a prospect of a brighter day dawning upon Canada than I regret to say has shone upon it for the last three years.

If we change the three years to eighteen years, this speech will fit the present occasion accurately. The Liberals will soon be returned to power. Then we shall have a return to brighter days and purer and wiser administration and a sounder fiscal system. The lessons of the by-elections are unmistakable, and it was just as well for the Government that they did not open Missisquoi, Pontiac and Soulanges, because, just so sure as they had elections in these constituencies, just so sure would three more men have been returned to vote against them. The elections cannot now be long delayed, and when they come we will find the farmers, the merchants, the labourers, the mechanics, the manufactur-

ers and professional men, all joining together in pronouncing through the polls their condemnation of the present Government.

THE "MAIL" AND SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART.

I would like, before I conclude to say a word more about the hon. Secretary of State (Sir Charles Tupper). That hon. gentleman was discussed by the Toronto "Mail" in 1891. On the 9th June, that paper contained the following editorial:—

After ostentatiously assuming the character of an impartial representative of the whole Canadian people, and their common ambassador to Washington, he proceeds to show his impartiality by the most violent and slanderous attacks on the party in Canada opposed to him, first, in an American, then in an English magazine. His article in the "Contemporary" impudently accusing Canadian Liberals to the British public of conspiracy to subvert British institutions and annex Canada to the United States, considering his position and the nature of his duties, may safely be said to be unique in the history of the public service. The appointment of such a man as the head of the state would be, not merely the inauguration of violence and corruption, unredeemed by any true wisdom or statesmanship,—it would be the signal for a disruption of the community and for a moral civil war.

Well, Sir, he is not head of the state, but if hon. gentlemen opposite have their way he may be soon, and I have no doubt that such an event would mean the inauguration of violence and corruption. Certainly the long black record which that hon. gentleman has left in the annals of his country teach us that his methods will be unredeemed by any true wisdom or statesmanship. But there will be no moral civil war. Sir, the people of Canada will not quarrel over him; he is a back number politically, and the people take but little interest in him. They look upon him as the costly High Commissioner, whose whole career as such is unmarked by any one act benefiting Canada. But I think he somewhat dreaded the promised "moral civil war." He has never been accused of entertaining a low opinion of himself, he is not disposed to underrate his own importance on the earth, and so doubtless he thought the Liberal party had taken seriously his slanderous attacks on them in 1891, and he attempted to atone for his unjust attacks by what he said in Halifax the other day. To disarm them, he there said :

That the men of all political parties and all our public men, irrespective of politics, are loyal to the heart's core.

Sir, the Liberal party needs no such certificate. They have always treated with silent contempt that hon. gentleman's impudent accusations; but if it ease his remorse at having so vilified his fellow-countrymen to make so complete a recantation, I am very glad indeed for his sake that he made it.

G W W D-4

## REASONS WHY THE GOVERNMENT MUST GO.

There may possibly be remaining in this House a few who are not yet convinced that the Government is not entitled to the confidence of the Canadian people, and I shall therefore put on record a few reasons why the protectionist party is no longer entitled to the confidence of the electors of Canada.

1.—Because it has increased the net public debt from \$140,362,009 in 1878 to \$253,074,927 in 1895, an increase of \$112,712,858, an average annual increase of \$6,630,168.

2.—Because it has increased the expenditure, aside from capital expenditure, from \$23,503,158 in 1878 to \$38,132,005 in 1895, a difference of \$14,628,847.

3.—Because in the face of falling revenue, hard times, and a deficit for 1893-94 of over \$1,200,000, it appropriated in the session of 1894 over \$4,000,000 for railway subsidies, the object of the grants in the majority of cases being to give aid to its candidates in the coming elections.

4.—Because it has squandered the public lands in the North-west by lavish and unnecessary grants to railway corporations, having granted in this way up to April last 44,242,298 acres, which is twice the quantity of land at present under cultivation in the Dominion.

5.—Because it has squandered public moneys in worthless investments made to serve the purposes of friends, such as the Tay Canal, which cost \$476,128 and last year yielded revenue to the amount of \$136.

6.—Because it has superannuated civil servants in the prime of life to make places for its own retainers, and has brought the superannuation service to that point when the receipts last year were \$63,274, and the payments \$265,385.

7.—Because it has copied the worst features of American political rascality in the infamous Gerrymander Act of 1882.

8.—Because by the "Franchise Act of 1885" it ceased to permit the provincial lists to be used for Dominion elections, and adopted an expensive partisan scheme for making Dominion lists, with power to perpetrate gross outrages; and has given the country but one revision on an average each three years, costing in each instance over \$250,000, besides the vast expense in money and time the people are put to simply to secure the most cherished right of a British subject—the right to vote.

9.—Because it went to the country at the last general election under false pretenses, professing to be on the point of securing a reciprocity treaty with the United States, when no negotiations were in progress and no prospect of securing such a treaty existed.

10.—Because it has distributed 25,000 square miles of timber limits among its friends and supporters regardless of value and without consideration.

11.—Because it has utterly destroyed the independence of Parliament and secured the support of a slavish majority by gifts to members and their friends of timber limits, railway subsidies and other favours.

12.—Because it makes no attempt to secure purity of administration, but on the contrary is governing the country by the most shameless and corrupt methods.

13.—Because it is not an economical Government but is responsible for a system of extravagance and waste in every department.

14.—Because, when the country is staggering under a burden of debt and taxation, no effort is made to reduce the debt or diminish the expenditure.

15.—Because the tariff is not adjusted for the purpose of securing the revenue necessary for the economical administration of public affairs in the easiest way for the people, but on the contrary is made the weapon of rings and combines through the operation of which they exclude foreign goods and secure the power to charge exorbitant prices for their own wares.

16.—Because the promises made on behalf of the National Policy were foundationless and false. It has neither checked the exodus, nor given a home market for our farm products, nor increased the price of such products, nor secured prosperity for the country.

17.—Because the extravagance of the Government obliged the country to face a deficit of over \$1,210,000 in 1893-94, followed by the largest deficit save one since confederation, namely, \$4,153,875 for the year 1894-95.

18.—Because the buried secrets of peculations, frauds and maladministration in the various departments should be exposed to the light of day, and the accounts and records should be investigated by men who are not interested in concealing facts.

19.—Because Canada is nearly at a standstill and her people are disheartened. Her present rulers are incompetent, and their policy worse than a failure. We want new men, new methods, and the policy of the Liberals.

20.—Because parliamentary inquiry into grave charges made against members of the Government in the Caron case was refused, the character and allegations of said charges changed by the Government to suit its own purpose, and the emasculated indictment thus prepared referred to a commission chosen by itself before which acquittal was foreordained.

21.—Because their policy has led to the scheduling of Canadian cattle in Great Britain and the quarantining of Canadian cattle in the United States.

It would be well for Canada if the electors will consider carefully these reasons, and when the time comes, prove their love for their suffering country and mark their ballots against the protectionist candidates.

### HON. EDWARD BLAKE'S LETTER.

Hon. gentlemen opposite have often quoted certain passages from a celebrated letter by the Hon. Edward Blake to the electors of West Durham. Let me read a few other passages from the same letter:

The Canadian Conservative policy has failed to accomplish the predictions of its promoters.

Its real tendency has been, as foretold twelve years ago, towards disintegration and annexation, instead of consolidation and the maintenance of that British connection of which they claim to be the special guardians.

It has left us with a small population, a scanty immigration and a North-west empty still; with enormous additions to our public debt and yearly charge, an extravagant system of expenditure, and an unjust and oppressive tariff; with limited markets for our needs, whether to buy or to sell, and all the host of evils (greatly intensified by our special condition) thence arising; with trade diverted from its natural into forced, and, there-

fore, less profitable channels, and with unfriendly relations and frowning tariff walls, ever more and more estranging us from the mighty English speaking nation to the south, our neighbours and relations, with whom we ought to be, as it was promised that it should be, living in generous amity and liberal intercourse.

Worse, far worse. It has left us with lowered standards of public virtue and a death-like apathy in public opinion; with racial, religious and provincial animosities rather inflamed than soothed; with a subservient Parliament, an autocratic Executive, debauched constituencies and corrupted and corrupting classes; with lessened self-reliance and increased dependence on the public chest and on legislative aids, and possessed with all by a boastful jingo spirit far enough removed from true manliness, loudly proclaiming unreal conditions and exaggerated sentiments, while actual facts and genuine opinions are suppressed.

It has left us with our hands tied, our future compromised, and in such a plight that, whether we stand or move, we must run some risks which else we might have either declined or encountered with greater promise of success.

Yet let us never despair of our country! It is a goodly land; endowed with great recuperative powers and vast resources as yet almost undeveloped; inhabited by populations moral and religious, sober and industrious, virtuous and thrifty, capable and instructed—the descendants of a choice immigration, of men of mark and courage, energy and enterprise, in the breasts of whose children still should glow the sparks of those ancestral fires.

#### THE LIBERAL LEADER.

Sir, it is a goodly land, this country of ours. Vast are her resources. Noble are her sons. And, Sir, in my estimation, and, I believe, in the estimation of all his followers, the first of them all is our noble leader, the leader of the Opposition. A certain portion of the press in the province of Ontario supporting hon. gentlemen opposite, speak of our leader as "the French Mr. Laurier." Not contemptuously, I do not accuse them of that, for I do not believe there is a man in all Canada so dead to all that is noble as to feel less than admiration for a character so unsullied, a mind so broad, a heart so generous as that of the hon. leader of Her Majesty's loyal Opposition. But why then speak of him as "the French Mr. Laurier." Do they intend this as a warning to the people of Ontario, and if so, against what? Is there a man so ignorant of the past that he can doubt the loyalty of the French-Canadians, both Rouge and Bleu? Who doubted the loyalty of Sir George E. Cartier, Sir John A. Macdonald's friend and fellow-worker, co-leader with him of the Conservative party, practically joint Premier with him of the Dominion of Canada? Who doubted the loyalty of Dorion, or Taché, Lafontaine, Papineau, or our own beloved colleague in this House, the late Félix Geoffrion? French Canadians, without number, have their names written in the history of our country, whose every act and word proclaimed them loyal to the core.

Do they think we have forgotten the story of our country? Do we not know how nobly French Canadians stood by old England in the days of her danger and refused to join the colonies in their revolt? Had they done so, who will say what might have been? The fate of England, so far as this continent was concerned, was in their hands. Had they yielded then, the Stars and Stripes might to-day be waving from the gulf to the pole.

In 1812, when the young republic, in its youthful self-confidence, invaded our country, where were the French Canadians? At Chateauguay, many of them, standing shoulder to shoulder with the English to resist the invasion and retain aloft the good old Union Jack. And they did it, too. Later, when we were threatened with invasion, in 1866, the French Canadians stood ready to go out and resist the invader. Once more, in 1885, they sprang to arms and sternly fought to maintain intact this broad Dominion from sea to sea.

Never once have the French Canadians faltered in their duty as subjects of the Crown. Sir, the flag of our country is safe in French Canadian hands. They will keep it unsullied, unless, indeed, to dye it a deeper red, as oft before, with their hearts' warm blood shed in its defence.

Our leader has sat in this House for many years. He has travelled from one end of this country to the other, and never yet has any one dared to question his unswerving loyalty to his country and his Queen. I believe that under his wise rule, racial and religious animosities will speedily disappear, that men will learn to love and respect each other although they may bend the knee in reverent worship at different altars. Though different in race, all will join hand in hand in mutual trust and confidence to build up a united Canada, loyally determined to make her, in fact, as well as in name, the brightest gem in Britain's crown. True to Canada and loyal to the Empire, they have helped to build, we can well allow Frenchmen, while rejoicing in the institutions of this land of free men, to dwell in loving memory upon the glories of France. The German's great heart will swell when he thinks of the loved ones far away in the old home in the fatherland. He will tell his children gathered around his knees of the wars his fathers fought to make his country great. The Icelandic, proud of his new home on the prairies of the west, surrounded by such comforts as his industry has won, will still yearn for the ice-clad hills his fathers loved so well. Albion's sons, proud of their country's greatness, oft thinking of the hills and dales, of the stately homes of old England, will strive to make Canada well worthy her proud relationship to that greatest and noblest of lands. Sir, my own countrymen's hearts will



hunger for another sight of the dear old Emerald Isle, ever first in the affection of her absent sons; yet none more true than they to the land of their adoption, none more loyal to her best interests, none more anxious to see her worthy of her place in England's Empire. Scotchmen will fondly dream of the heather clad hills of the land of Wallace and of Bruce.

The hearts of our people will turn at times to their old homes, yet all will unite to make this country worthy of her place in the world-wide Empire to which they are proud to belong. Working together a united people, they may yet surely be permitted, each thinking of loved ones beyond the sea, to stand altogether and sing:

Should auld acquaintance be forgot,  
And never brought to mind,  
We'll drink a cup o' kindness yet,  
For the days of Auld Lang Syne.

Sir, under the rule of the hon. member for

Quebec East, the moral law will be applied to our public life. Fair dealing between man and man will obtain. Cotton combines and sugar trusts will cease to oppress us; Curran Bridges and Tay Canals will become dark memories of other days; a united government, true and loyal to its chief, will rule. Sir, do what they may, this Parliament cannot live for ever. Soon the elections must be held, and when they are over, our beloved leader will take his place as leader of the Government of Canada. The day after the elections, I can imagine the hon. gentlemen who now occupy the Treasury benches, thinking, when too late, of their past misdeeds, of their mutual distrusts and jealousies, sitting around the Council board and mournfully singing:

Ship us somewhere east of Suez,  
Where the best is like the worst,  
Where there ain't no Ten Commandments,  
Tay canals, combines or trusts.

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